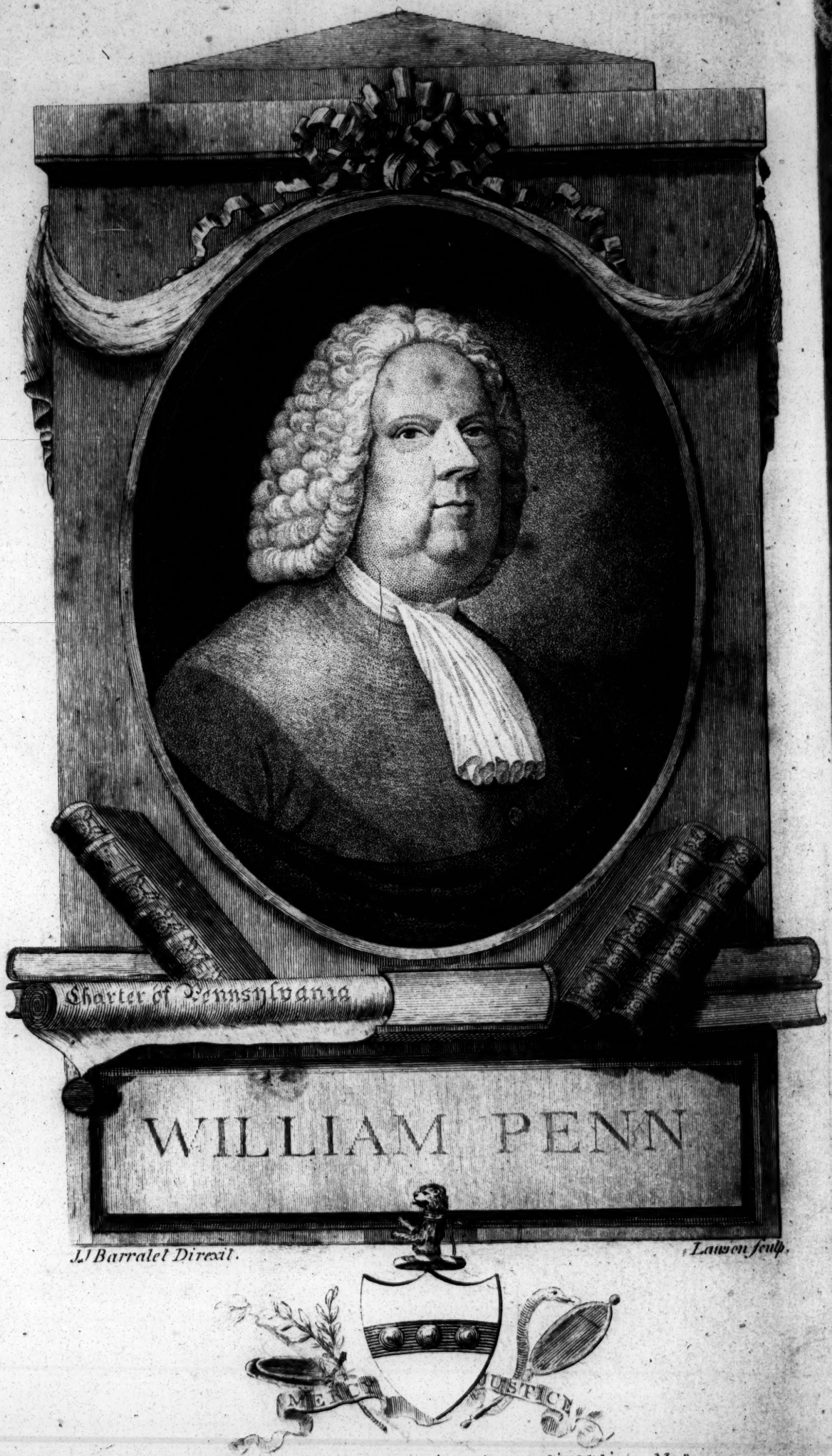


Drawn from the Original Bust in the Logonian Library Philadelphia 1 Novr 1797

THE

History of Pennsylvania,

IN

NORTH AMERICA,

FROM THE

Original Institution and Settlement of that Province, under the first *Proprietor* and *Governor* WILLIAM PENN, in 1681, till after the Year 1742;

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION,

RESPECTING,

The Life of W. PENN, prior to the grant of the Province, and the religious Society of the People called *Quakers*;—with the first rise of the neighbouring Colonies, more particularly of *West-New-Jersey*, and the Settlement of the *Dutch* and *Swedes* on *Delaware*.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A brief Description of the said Province,

AND OF THE

General State, in which it flourished, principally between the Years 1760 and 1770.

The whole including a Variety of Things,

Useful and interesting to be known, respecting that Country in early Time, &c.

With an APPENDIX.

Written principally between the Years 1776 and 1780,

By ROBERT PROUD.

"PULCHRUM EST BENEFACERE REIPUBLICÆ, ETIAM BENEDICERE HAUD ABSURDUM EST, VEL PACE VEL BELLO CLARUM FIERI LICET." *Sal. Catalin.*

"SED CUM PLERIQUE ARBITRENTUR RES BELLICAS MAJORES ESSE QUAM URBANAS, MINUENDA EST HÆC OPINIO." *Cic. Off.*

VOLUME I.

Philadelphia:

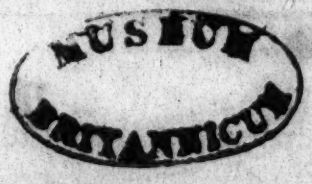
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1797.

1097/6

" *William Penn*, the great legiſlator of the *Quakers*," (in Pennſylvania) " had the ſucceſs of a conqueror, in eſta-
" bliſhing and defending his colony, among ſavage tribes,
" without ever drawing the ſword; the goodneſs of the
" moſt benevolent rulers, in treating his ſubjects as his
" own children; and the tenderneſs of an univerſal father,
" who opened his arms to all mankind without diſtinction
" of ſect or party. In his republic it was not the religious
" creed, but perſonal merit, that entitled every member
" of ſociety to the protection and emoluments of the ſtate."

Eſſay on toleration, by Arthur O'Leary.



(The copy-right ſecured as the law directs.)

TO THE

Deſcendants and proper Succeſſors

OF THE

Firſt COLONISTS and early SETTLERS

OF

PENNSYLVANIA,

UNDER THE

Firſt Proprietor and Governor WILLIAM PENN,

AND

To the reſt of its Inhabitants,

This HISTORY of that PROVINCE

IS DEDICATED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

The deſign.

THE following hiſtory was written many years ago, as mentioned in the title page; but the great change in this country, which enſued, and was then forming, prevented the publication. It was not only intended more particularly for the uſe of the deſcendants of the firſt and early ſettlers of the province, but alſo for a general information to all others, reſpecting its former ſtate, &c. that by beholding the means, by which ſmall things become great, and what formerly made the country happy, it might excite a ſimilar conduct in poſterity, &c.

" *Non minor eſt virtus quàm quærere parta tueri.*"

That which renders people happy, is neceſſary to keep them ſo.

Though

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The means, or materials.

Though the materials of this performance, and the regular accounts of the early progreſſive advances of this country, left by thoſe who were moſt capable of giving them, appear, in ſome things, and more ſo at particular times, very defective, yet the compilation is made from the beſt that could be had, as tranſmitted from the moſt early ſettlers, and their ſucceſſors, of the firſt reputation and character, in the province; as well as from the public records, and ſuch other accounts as may be depended on.

C. Puſey & firſt collectors of the memorials, &c.

Among the firſt collectors of theſe materials appears to have been *Caleb Puſey*, one of the early ſettlers of *Pennſylvania* from about London, in 1682; who, at different times, was both of the provincial and proprietary's, or governor's, council, and frequently in the aſſembly. He lived many years; was well acquainted with the public affairs, and ſaw great improvements in the province. His papers after his deceaſe, in 1725, were delivered to *David Lloyd* and *Iſaac Norris;* and afterwards to *James Logan*, about the year 1732. From theſe perſons, who made ſuch additions, as came within their obſervation, they afterwards paſſed to *John Kinſey;* who, in conjunction with ſeveral others, his friends, reviſed them; and they remained in his poſſeſſion till his death, in the year 1750.

The character of theſe perſons, above mentioned, who, at different periods of time, filled ſome of the moſt eminent public ſtations in the province, will further appear in the enſuing hiſtory; as being men who had not only the beſt opportunity of knowing the variety of incidents, and the true ſtate of its internal affairs, from the beginning, but alſo were themſelves actively concerned in a large ſhare of the public tranſactions; and ſome of them, in the different intereſts both of the proprietary and of his oppoſers.

But

But the perſon who took the moſt pains to adjuſt and reduce theſe materials into ſuch order, as might be proper for the public view, before that of the preſent publication, was *Samuel Smith* of *Burlington*, in *New-Jerſey*, author of the hiſtory of that province; whoſe manuſcript (which contained only the ſpace of about forty years) after his deceaſe, in 1776, being thought by divers ſenſible and judicious perſons, among his friends, to be capable of further improvement, and uſeful alterations, or additions, the preſent hiſtory, therefore, is publiſhed, not only in a form, different from that of S. Smith's manuſcript, but alſo divers particulars therein, are here much abbreviated, eſpecially reſpecting the long and tedious diſputes between ſome of the governors and aſſemblies; and conſiderable additions are made, from other accounts, of ſuch things as were either not at all touched upon, or but ſlightly mentioned, by him; beſides moſt of the notes, with the *introduction*, and the *deſcription* of the province and its *preſent ſtate*, between the years 1760 and 1770; both which laſt, not being attempted by him, are, for the moſt part, entirely new:—So that the whole comprizes, beſides what may be found of veracity, in other publications, reſpecting the province, a true and genuine narrative of the different public tranſactions, the great and various improvements, memorable incidents, entertaining anecdotes, and things worthy to be known, for above ſixty years, beſides the ſaid *preſent ſtate*, &c. S. Smith, & his M.S. &c.

The reſtoration and enjoyment of thoſe natural and civil rights and privileges, of which men originally, by their folly and wickedneſs, are often deprived, was the great end, for which the predeceſſors of the preſent inhabitants of *Pennſylvania*, at firſt, peaceably withdrew into this retirement, from thoſe, who, at that time, appeared either to have loſt, or too partially diſtributed them; and the preſervation thereof was the original deſign of the Subject of the hiſtory.

the civil government and conſtitution of the province; an account of which, &c. is the principal ſubject of the following hiſtory.

Remarkable example, &c.

Hence, in the firſt riſe, and early progreſs, of this province, there manifeſtly appears a remarkable and extraordinary example of that excellent wiſdom, induſtry and moderation, whoſe effects are replete with uſeful inſtruction to poſterity, for having, in reality, rendered a people ſo very happy and flouriſhing;—not proved by the boaſting of mere theory and anticipation, but by a happy experience for many years.

Poſſible benefit of hiſtory, &c.

It is likewiſe by means of the ſame kind of evidence, or proof, ſo far as hiſtory favors us with the experience of former times, in all ages and countries, that men may be taught, not only that the happy ſtate of any country cannot reaſonably be expected long to continue, in the ſame degree of increaſing proſperity, as before, without the continued prevalence of principles and means, among the people, in general, ſimilar to thoſe by which it was firſt obtained; but alſo how liable ſuch a happy and proſperous condition is again to be loſt, by that folly or depravity, which has ever been fatal, where it got the aſcendency, though generally under the moſt plauſible appearances.

"*Fallit enim vitium ſpecie virtutis & umbrâ.*"

Evil deceives under the pretence, or appearance of good.

Human nature ſtill the ſame, &c.

For the hiſtory of all nations abounds with inſtances of the ſame nature, operating in all the deſcendants of *Adam* and *Eve*, which we are told, prevailed in theſe firſt parents, or repreſentatives, of mankind; and through this medium of hiſtory, it may be clearly ſeen, as in a glaſs, that too much, or very great, proſperity has been, and conſequently may ſtill be, as fatal to the human race, (which is capable of bearing only a certain proportion of it) as the extreme of adverſity; and that the effects of plenty, pride and ambition, in the

one

one, have been, and thence may ſtill be, no leſs pernicious, than thoſe of want, oppreſſion and diſtreſs, in the other:—But how little have poſterity profited from ſuch former examples!—human nature is ſtill the ſame;—the interdicted tree, with its *forbidden fruit*, is ſtill as tempting as ever it was.

" *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*"

Happy is he whom the harms of others make wary.

How often, under ſome plauſible pretence or other, are peace and improvement wantonly exchanged for war and deſtruction; whoſe natural conſequence are violence and oppreſſion!—Have we not ſeen the commencement of this already, even, within our borders, in this young country? which the former had rendered ſo flouriſhing and happy.—The firſt and early coloniſts, or ſettlers and makers of the province, left the finely cultivated plains of *Europe*, with their neareſt and deareſt connections there, to enjoy and promote the former, in this wilderneſs, in ſuch degree of perfection, as ſeemed impoſſible for them there, and to avoid the latter, with its conſequences;—from which, in an eminent degree, it is moſt manifeſt, their wiſdom, virtue, moderation, and good policy, through much labor, danger and expence, many ways, and in a very ſignal, pacific and extraordinary manner, effected the deliverance and preſervation of the inhabitants, while they directed the affairs of the colony, and for ſo many years prolonged the golden days of *Pennſylvania*.

Men love change, &c.

Motives for ſettling Pennſylvania.

For, as there appears to be a conſtant decay, in human affairs, and all things have their beginning and end, ſo is it not manifeſt, in the courſe of nature, or of all things within the circle of human obſervation, that a conſtant recurring to firſt principles, or, that a renovation, or melioration, to balance this decay, is always neceſſary, both in an individual and collective capacity?—But then do all

Happy conſequences, &c.

all the boaſted improvement of men, or melioration of the human race, &c. in reality, and in the general, amount to any more, than what is intimated by this ſimilitude? *viz.*

"Like leaves on trees the race of man is found;
Now green in youth, now with'ring on the ground;
Another race the following ſpring ſupplies;
They fall ſucceſſive, and ſucceſſive riſe:
So generations, in their courſe, decay;
So flouriſh theſe, when thoſe are paſt away."

POPE'S HOMER.

W. Penn a wiſe promoter of improvement, &c.

The worthy founder and father of the province appears to have been well acquainted with the true means of this melioration, in the ſtate of mankind, by inſiſting, ſo much as he did, on the early cultivation of piety and virtue, and on a good education of youth, in its different branches; with a juſt and vigorous magiſtracy, or government, and good order; of which he was ever the firm friend and ſupporter, not to ſay, the reformer, or improver, of it, for the benefit, and further happineſs of civil ſociety; as ſufficiently appears by his writings, and in his excellent example of that of *Pennſylvania;*—in which, as he exhibited himſelf a ſtrenuous advocate, and a remarkable extender of juſtice, mercy, and all rational liberty, ſo was he alſo a ſevere enemy to all licentiouſneſs, injuſtice, and criminal indulgence of vice and wickedneſs.

Extracts from W. Penn's writings.

"There can be no pretence (ſays he) of conſcience, to be drunk, to whore, to be voluptuous, to game, to ſwear, curſe, blaſpheme and prophane; no ſuch matter. Theſe are ſins againſt nature; and againſt the government, as well as againſt the written laws of God. They lay the ax to the root of human ſociety; and are the common enemies of mankind. It was to prevent theſe enormities, that

that government was inſtituted; and ſhall government indulge that, which it is inſtituted to correct? This were to render the magiſtracy uſeleſs, and the *bearing* of the *ſword* vain; there would be then no ſuch thing, in government, as a *terror to evil-doers;* but every one would do that, which he thought right in his own eyes; *God almighty deliver us from this ſort of tyranny!*" Duty of the magiſtracy, &c.

"Nothing (continues he) weakens kingdoms like vice; it does not only diſpleaſe Heaven, but diſable them;"—"It is our intereſt to be good; and it is none of the leaſt arguments for religion, that the piety and practice of it is the peace and proſperity of government; and conſequently that vice, the enemy of religion, is, at the ſame time, the enemy of human ſociety. What, then, ſhould be more concerned for the preſervation of virtue, than government? that, in its abſtract, and true ſenſe, is not only founded upon virtue, but without the preſervation of virtue, it is impoſſible to maintain the beſt conſtitution, that can be made. And, however ſome particular men may proſper that are wicked, and ſome private good men miſcarry, in the things of this world, in which ſenſe, things may be ſaid to happen alike to all, *to the righteous as to the wicked*, yet I dare boldly affirm, and challenge any man to the truth thereof; that, in the many volumes of the hiſtory of all ages and kingdoms of the world, there is not one inſtance to be found, where the hand of God was againſt a righteous nation, or when the hand of God was not againſt an unrighteous nation, firſt or laſt; nor where a juſt government periſhed, nor an unjuſt government long proſpered. Kingdoms are rarely ſo ſhort lived as men; yet they alſo have a time to die; but as temperance giveth health to men, ſo virtue gives time to kingdoms; and as vice brings men betimes to their graves, ſo nations to their ruin." Great importance of virtue, &c.

Modes of government.

Reſpecting modes of government, the memorable founder of that of *Pennſylvania* declares,—"There is hardly one frame of government, in the world, ſo ill deſigned by its firſt founder, that, in good hands would not do well enough; and hiſtory tells us, the beſt, in ill ones, can do nothing, that is great or good; witneſs, the *Jewiſh* and the *Roman* ſtates. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion, which men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, ſo by them are they ruined too: wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill they will cure it: but if men be bad, let the government be never ſo good, they will endeavour to warp and ſpoil it to their turn."—"That, therefore, which makes a good conſtitution, muſt keep it, *viz.* men of wiſdom and virtue; qualities, that, becauſe they deſcend not with worldly inheritances, muſt be carefully propagated by a *virtuous education of youth;* for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the ſucceſſive *magiſtracy*, than to their parents, for their private *patrimonies*."

Great importance of good education.

"I would think (ſays he in another place) that there are but few people ſo vicious, as to care to ſee their children ſo; and yet to me it ſeems a plain caſe, that, as we leave the government, they will find it: if ſome effectual courſe be not taken, what with neglect, and what with example, impiety and the miſeries that follow it, will be entailed upon our children. Certainly it were better the world ended with us, than that we ſhould tranſmit our vices, or ſow thoſe evil ſeeds, in our day, that will ripen to their ruin, and fill our country with miſeries, after we are gone; thereby expoſing it to the curſe of God, and violence of our neighbours. But it is an infelicity we ought to bewail, that men are apt to prefer the baſe pleaſures of their preſent extravagances to all endeavours after a future benefit;

benefit; for, beſides the guilt, they draw down upon themſelves, our poor poſterity muſt be greatly injured thereby; who will find thoſe debts and incumbrances harder to pay than all the reſt, we can leave them under."

"Upon the whole matter (continues he) I take the freedom to ſay, that, if we would preſerve our government, we muſt endear it to the people. To do this, beſides the neceſſity of preſent, juſt and wiſe things, we muſt ſecure the *youth:* this is not to be done, but by the *amendment* of the *way* of their *education*; and that with all convenient ſpeed and diligence. I ſay, the government is highly obliged: it is a ſort of truſtee for the youth of the kingdom; who, though now minors, yet will have the government, when we are gone. Therefore *depreſs vice*, and *cheriſh virtue;* that through *good education*, they may become good; which will truly render them happy in this world, and a good way fitted for that which is to come. If this be done, they will owe more to your memories for their *education*, than for their eſtates." Good education conducive to good government.

Such maxims and advice are of univerſal concernment, and intereſting to all governments; but the opinions of different men frequently vary much on the ſame ſubjects; and that, even, on important as well as trifling affairs; and their conduct is no leſs contradictory, and ſometimes ſeemingly irrational; they are ſo liable to embrace oppoſite extremes, that they often deviate from the middle way of rectitude: Hence, while the forward, ſelfiſh and leſs qualified, frequently from ſiniſter, or mean views, ſolicit and ſucceed into the public offices and magiſtracy, as well as into divers other important departments of life, for which they are unfit and improper, it is to be regretted, that ſometimes the more worthy, and better qualified, who are actuated, in what they do, by more generous principles, too often from diffidence of their own abilities, and Men's opinions vary much, &c.

Some cauſes of defect in government and magiſtracy, &c.

and an abhorrence of a connection with others, in their improper conduct, entirely decline being concerned in such stations, and thereby refuse that benefit, which they might otherwise, most probably, administer to themselves and their country.

Some pious men inconsistent in their conduct, &c.

But ought the misuse of a right and necessary thing to be a sufficient reason for rejecting that thing altogether?—shall the abuse and perversion of government, and the ill administration of the magistracy, by wicked men, give just occasion for any sober, thinking and rational person, qualified and suitable to be serviceable to his country, in that very important department, to condemn the right use of them? and entirely to refuse his assistance in a thing so necessary as the magistracy?—whether it be from political considerations, or a persuasion, that the execution of it is, in some respects, contrary to the nature of Christianity?—like the *Anabaptists*, in *Germany* formerly, in the time of *Charles* the fifth; and as indicated by the conduct of some in later years?—Certainly, if such reasoning, or conduct, as this, ought to prevail, and be imitated, in the extreme, then, to be consistent with themselves, it is most manifest, such persons as reason and act thus, ought to possess no private property;—religion itself, under pretence of which this notion, or conduct, seems to have been founded, should no longer be professed by them;—nay, they absolutely ought to desist from propagating their own species!—Because these things are most of all abused, or perverted; from which have flowed the greatest evils in the world; and in consequence of the last arise all the wickedness and unhappiness of mankind, &c. for the restraint and correction or remedy, of which, it has pleased divine Providence mercifully to ordain government and magistracy, &c. and to communicate knowledge and ability to the industry of men, for that happy purpose:—But who is not able to see the inconsistency

inconſiſtency of ſuch reaſoning?—How ſtrangely liable are mankind to err!—how variouſly do they go aſtray, even, under well intended views!—Men may go north till they come ſouth.

Pennſylvania an example to other countries, &c.

But *Pennſylvania* was ſettled upon very different principles;—for it was impoſſible for the government of it to be founded on ſuch notions; *William Penn* was far from being actuated by the extravagance of this kind of enthuſiaſm, in giving ſuch an excellent example to mankind, and ſhewing them how happy it is poſſible for men to live in the world, if they pleaſe: for, while he diſtinguiſhed between the too general abuſe of power, and the exertion of a juſt authority, he laid a foundation for happy conſequences; as manifeſted in the late glorious example and proſperity of the province, to ſuch a degree of both private and public felicity, as hath exceeded that of moſt other countries, that we know of, in the world, conſidering its age, ſituation, extent, and other circumſtances:—This, though defectively exhibited, will, at leaſt, in part, appear in the following hiſtory, and in the ſketch of the *general ſtate* of the country between the years 1760 and 1770, at the concluſion. During all which *golden age* of the province, the effects of *William Penn's* government and conduct appear to have excelled thoſe of the *wiſe Solon*, ſo far as the effects of peace, and prevention of military evils and deſtruction are preferable to thoſe of war:—For by reaſon of the natural injuſtice, and the violent operation of the latter, the happy conſequences of the former are generally impaired, or deſtroyed, and never can be long preſerved by it; ſo that the emphatical expreſſions of the great legiſlator of *Athens*, as recorded by *Plutarch* in his life of *Solon*, appear more applicable to the lawgiver of *Pennſylvania*, viz.

" What

"What pow'r was fit I did on all beſtow;
Nor rais'd the poor too high, nor preſs'd too low;
The rich that rul'd, and every office bore,
Confin'd by laws, could not oppreſs the poor;
Both parties I ſecur'd from lawleſs might;
So none prevail'd upon another's right."

Various ways of ambition, &c.

But ambition is rooted in human nature, and demands reſtraint; it aſſumes all manner of appearances whatſoever, and is now working wonders, in the world, under the name of *equality* and *the rights of man;*—Hence to miſtake innovation for renovation, and a love of change for melioration, connected with ſuch an idea of *ſelf-independency*, as is inconſiſtent with the enlargement of civilization, or of the ſocial happineſs of mankind, in any great or extenſive degree, have ever produced thoſe pernicious conſequences, which have flowed from the revolutionary governments of nations and countries; whoſe felicity conſiſts in the unity, harmony, or a juſt dependency of their parts; and the more extenſive thoſe parts are, in ſuch a ſtate, the greater and more durable is moſt likely to be the happineſs of thoſe very conſtituent and particular parts, as well as of the whole; and *vice verſâ*.

Compariſon of the effects of unity, &c.

For as an aſſemblage of ſimilar rays of light adds to the luſtre of each individual ray, of which it is compoſed; and the larger the aſſemblage, ſo much greater is that luſtre, in proportion to the number of rays; ſo the happy, or unhappy ſtate of mankind individually may be conſidered, as augmented, or diminiſhed, beyond the poſſibility of a ſolitary enjoyment only, according to the general prevalency and extenſiveneſs of theſe two different ſtates, in a national or collective capacity:—The juſt and proper conſideration of which might have no ſmall tendency to incite men more effectually to cultivate and extend ſuch a ſtate of harmony and unity in the world, as neceſſarily muſt, above all other means, ever conſtitute, preſerve and

Incitement to unity & harmony, &c.

and increaſe, or advance, their felicity, ſo far as human nature is capable of it, both in a particular and general relation; rather than the contrary, or diſcord, rebellion and revolt, ſo often advocated, purſued, and in the end, unhappily experienced, under the plauſible name and falſe appearance, of melioration.

Original cauſes of happineſs and miſery ſtill the ſame.

But how muchſoever the recommendation and extenſion of unity, concord and amity, with a due ſubmiſſion, in civil ſociety, may be contrary to the ambition, and ſelfiſh views, of an *independent and rebellious ſpirit*, in any age, or country, yet it is moſt certain that as the former conſtituted the ſtate of original, and moſt complete, felicity, ſo the latter occaſioned the contrary; and cannot, in the nature of things, do otherwiſe;—and that human happineſs may be much further increaſed, or augmented, both in an individual and collective capacity, than either idleneſs or wickedneſs will permit many to believe, or think poſſible, the province of *Pennſylvania* has afforded a very ſignal example, and inconteſtible proof, to the admiration of ſtrangers; and doubtleſs far beyond the credibility of many, who are not ſufficiently acquainted with the early, as well as the later ſtate of the country.

Example of Pennſylvania.

How good things may be reverſed and reſtored.

To conclude, as the world is ſaid to have been formed out of a chaos, and that order ſprung from diſorder, by the effect of Omnipotence; ſo, in the riſe of this province, appears a remarkable inſtance of happy conſequences, from apparent unhappy cauſes;—rational liberty, with an equal participation of natural and civil rights, and religious privileges, with the glorious effects, have riſen out of oppreſſion, perſecution and bigotry:—But, as the abuſe of the former has always introduced the latter, ſooner or later; and as human nature ever remains to be the ſame, ſo the reverſing of thoſe enjoyments continues to be no leſs incident to the human race, than it was in former ages of the world;

and

and their preſervation depends as much upon the wiſdom and conduct of the poſſeſſors of them, as their reſtoration will do, on means ſimilar to thoſe, which raiſed, and ſo long preſerved, the happy ſtate of the province of *Pennſylvania.*

Philadelphia, 1797.

INTRODUCTION.

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OF THE
INTRODUCTION.

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6. Under

6. Under the third head are repreſented:

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5. A ſketch of the religious ſtate of *Weſt N. Jerſey*, about that time, with ſome further hints of its general ſituation, or ſtate, till the ſurrender of the reſpective proprietary governments to the crown, in 1702.

Note, When the months are mentioned in their numerical order, in the following hiſtory, March is underſtood to be the firſt month of the year, before the change of the ſtyle, in 1752; after which the year commenced on the firſt of January.

INTRODUCTION.

PART THE FIRST.

CONTAINING,

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

WILLIAM PENN,

Prior to his founding the Province of *Pennſylvania*;

AND INCLUDING,

A general and comprehenſive view of the riſe, principles, religious ſyſtem and practice, or manners, of the people called QUAKERS, *who firſt ſettled the province, under his government.*

THE wiſdom of former ages, when tranſmitted, in writing, to poſterity, is an ineſtimable treaſure; but the actions of illuſtrious and virtuous perſons, in the ſame manner exhibited, is ſtill more beneficial: by the former our judgments are rightly informed, and our minds brought into a proper way of thinking; by the latter we are animated to an imitation; and while the excellency of noble examples is diſplayed before our underſtandings, our minds are inſpired with a love of virtue. This appears to be the office of hiſtory; by which every ſucceeding age may avail itſelf of the wiſdom, and, even, of the folly, of the preceding, and become wiſer and happier by a proper application. Through this

Office and uſe of hiſtory, &c.

this medium when we view the conduct of those great men of antiquity, who have benefited mankind, in their most essential interests, they appear frequently to have been actuated by motives, the most disinterested, and attended with a satisfaction more than human!—Adversity, which refines men, and renders them more fit to benefit the human race, is a frequent concomitant of worthy minds; and apparent success doth not always immediately attend noble and just designs:—When a *Socrates* is put to death, wisdom and truth seem to suffer; and when an *Aristides* is exiled, justice appears to be in disgrace. But virtue is its own reward, and depends not on the fluctuating opinions of mortals, nor on the breath of popular applause; which is often on the side of error, and entirely opposite to the real interests of its votaries.

W. Penn an example of wisdom and fortitude.

An example of true wisdom and fortitude, is no less conspicuous in the venerable founder of the province of *Pennsylvania*, the truly great and worthy *William Penn*, than in many of the celebrated sages and legislators of former ages; who, in opposition to the vulgar notions of the times in which they lived, have seemingly suffered in their own particulars, in order to benefit mankind; this will appear in the following sketch of his life, both with respect to his religion in joining with the people called *Quakers*, and likewise in settling the province itself. In both of which his engagement for the happiness of men was not unattended with a large share of that difficulty and opposition, to which the most excellent undertakings are generally exposed: but minds of such exalted virtue are actuated by motives above mortality, and indisputably are influenced by something *divine;* without which, as *Cicero says*, "*there never was a really good and great man.*"*

His

* "*Credendum est neminem virorum bonorum talem fuisse, nisi adjuvante Deo; & nemo unquam fuit vir magnus sine afflatu aliquo divino.*"

Cic. de natura Deorum.

His father, Sir *William Penn*, was of eminent character; and ſerved both under the parliament, and king *Charles* the ſecond, in ſeveral of the higheſt maritime offices.* He was born in *Briſtol*, anno 1621; and married *Margaret*, daughter of *John Jaſper*, of *Rotterdam* in *Holland*, merchant; by whom he had his ſon *William Penn*. He was himſelf the ſon of captain *Giles Penn*, ſeveral years conſul for the *Engliſh*, in the *Mediterranean;* and of the *Penns* of *Penns-lodge*, in the county of *Wilts;* and thoſe *Penns* of *Penn*, in the county of *Bucks;* and by his mother, from the *Gilberts*, in the county of *Somerſet*, originally from *Yorkſhire*. Of his father admiral Penn. Biographia Britannica. His deſcent

He was addicted from his youth to maritime affairs, and made captain at twenty-one years of age; rear admiral of *Ireland*, at twenty-three; vice admiral of *Ireland*, at twenty-five; admiral to the Straits, at twenty-nine; vice admiral of *England*, at thirty-one; and general in the firſt *Dutch* war, at thirty-two. Whence returning, anno 1655, he was a parliament man for the town of *Weymouth;* in 1660, he was made commiſſioner of the admiralty and navy, governor of the town and fort of *Kingſail*; vice admiral of *Munſter*, and a member of that provincial council; and anno 1664, he was choſen great captain commander under the *Duke of York*, in that ſignal, and moſt evidently ſucceſful fight with the *Dutch* Fleet. His offices.

Thus he took leave of the ſea, but continued ſtill in his other employments, till 1669; at which time, through bodily infirmities, contracted by the care His death.

* W. Penn, in his printed works, ſays further reſpecting his father, Admiral Penn;—"He was engaged both under the parliament and king; but not as an actor in the domeſtic troubles; his compaſs always ſteering him to eye a national concern, and not inteſtine wars. His ſervice, therefore, being wholly foreign, he may be truly ſaid to ſerve his country, rather than either of theſe intereſts, ſo far as they were diſtinct from each other."—Again, "In the attack on *Hiſpaniola*, his employ was only as general of the fleet; from which the miſcarriage did not ariſe; it was owing to the land forces, over which he had no command.

PENN'S Works.

care and fatigue of public affairs, he withdrew, prepared and made for his end. He died at *Wanſtead*, in the county of *Eſſex*, on the 16th. day of September 1670, in the 49th. year of his age; leaving a plentiful eſtate, in *England* and *Ireland*, with his paternal bleſſing to his ſon *William;* to whom he was perfectly reconciled, after the great diſpleaſure, he had before conceived at his joining in religious ſociety with the *Quakers;*—" Thus (ſays his ſon) from a lieutenant he paſſed through all the eminent offices of ſea employment, and arrived to that of general, about the 30th. year of his age; in a time full of the biggeſt ſea action, that any hiſtory mentions; and when neither bribes nor alliance, favour nor affection, but ability only, could promote."—Having acquitted himſelf with honor and fidelity, in all his public offices, after the reſtoration he was knighted by king *Charles* the ſecond, and became a peculiar favorite of *James*, duke of *York;* whoſe friendſhip, favor and benevolence were, after his death, continued to his ſon; which, in a particular manner he requeſted of the duke, on his death bed.

See W. Penn's letter to W. Popple afterwards.

Birth and education of W. Penn born, 1644.

The memorable *William Penn*, ſon and heir of the above mentioned Sir *William*, or admiral *Penn*, and the firſt proprietor and governor of *Pennſylvania*, was born in *London*, on the fourteenth day of October, 1644. He was endowed with a good genius; and his father, from the promiſing proſpect, which he had, of his advancement was induced to give him a liberal education: He accordingly made ſuch early improvements in literature, that, about the fifteenth year of his age, he was entered a ſtudent at *Chriſt's church college* in *Oxford*.

His behaviour at Oxford.

At this time more particularly (ſays the writer of his life) began to appear in him a diſpoſition of mind after true ſpiritual religion; of which before he had received ſome ſenſe and taſte, through the miniſtry of *Thomas Loe*, a preacher under the denomination

nomination of a *Quaker*. In this place, he, and certain ſtudents of that univerſity, withdrawing themſelves from the national way of worſhip, held private meetings, for the exerciſe of religion; where they both preached and prayed among themſelves; which gave great offence to the heads of the college. He, being then but ſixteen years of age, was fined for non-conformity; and, at laſt, for his perſevering in the like religious practices, was expelled the college.

His father's conduct towards him.

From thence, after he returned home, he ſtill retained the ſame turn of mind, and continued to prefer the ſociety of ſober and religious perſons. His father, judging this to be a great obſtacle in the way of his ſons preferment, endeavoured, by divers means to deter and divert him from it. For which purpoſe, after having uſed both the force of perſuaſion upon his mind, and the ſeverity of ſtripes upon his body, without ſucceſs, he at length was ſo far incenſed againſt him, that, in great reſentment of rage, he turned him out of his houſe!

He ſends him to France.

His patience ſurmounted this difficulty, till his father's affection had ſubdued his anger. He then ſent him to *France* in company with ſome perſons of quality, who were making a tour thither. He continued there a conſiderable time, till a quite different converſation had diverted his mind from the ſerious thoughts of religion. There he acquired the knowledge of the *French language*, and a perfectly accompliſhed, polite and courtly behaviour. His father, on his return, thinking the intention of his travels was fully anſwered, received him with great ſatisfaction. His conduct and behaviour, for ſome time after this, being repreſented to be ſuch as juſtly entitled him to the character of a complete young gentleman.

1664. About the year 1664 his ſpiritual conflict, or religious exerciſe of mind, is ſaid to have been very great: his natural inclination, his lively and active diſpoſition

His great conflict of mind and reſolution.

diſpoſition, his acquired accompliſhments, his father's favour, the reſpect of his friends and acquaintances, did ſtrongly preſs him to embrace the glory and pleaſures of this world, then, as it were, courting and careſſing him, in the bloom of youth, to accept them; but, his earneſt ſupplication being to the Almighty for preſervation, he was, in due time, providentially favoured with reſolution and ability to overcome all oppoſition and to purſue his religious proſpect, and what he believed was his beſt intereſt, through all the reproaches, and perſecutions which attended him.

He is fully convinced of the Quakers principles in *Ireland.*

In the year 1666, and the 22d. of his age, his father committed to his care and management a conſiderable eſtate, in *Ireland;* which occaſioned his reſidence in that country; there, being at *Cork*, at a religious meeting of the people called *Quakers*, he was thoroughly and effectually convinced of their principles, by means of the preaching of *Thomas Loe*, before mentioned; whoſe miniſtry ten years before had made ſome impreſſions upon his underſtanding; ſo that he afterwards conſtantly attended the religious meetings of that people, even through the heat of perſecution.

1667.

W. Penn committed to priſon with the Quakers.

Being again at a meeting in *Cork*, in the year 1667, he, with many others, was apprehended, and carried before the mayor, who, obſerving that his dreſs diſcovered not the *Quaker*, would have ſet him at liberty, upon bond for his good behaviour; which, refuſing to give, he was, with about eighteen others, committed to priſon; he had during his reſidence in *Ireland*, contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry; and, being now a priſoner, he wrote a letter, on the occaſion, to the *Earl of Orrery*, lord preſident of *Munſter;* wherein he briefly informed him of his ſituation, pleaded his innocence, and boldly exhibited the inconſiſtency with true chriſtianity, as well as the ill policy, of ſuch kind of perſecution, eſpecially

eſpecially in *Ireland*. The earl immediately ordered his diſcharge. But his impriſonment was ſo far from terrifying him, that it ſtrengthened him in his reſolution of a cloſer union with that people, whoſe religious innocence appeared to be the only crime, for which they ſuffered.

1667. He openly joins the Quakers.

His more openly joining with the *Quakers* now brought him under that reproachful name; and the compliments and careſſes of his companions were changed into ſcoffs and deriſion; and he became a by-word, and the ſubject of ſcorn and contempt both to the profeſſor of religion, and to the profane.

Great conteſt between his father and him.

His father by a letter from a nobleman of his acquaintance, being informed of the ſituation of his ſon, ſent for him home. Upon his return, though there was no great alteration in his dreſs, yet the manner of his deportment, and the ſolid concern of mind, which he appeared to be under, were manifeſt indications of the truth of the information which his father had received; who thereupon attacked him afreſh. "And here my pen (ſays the writer of his life) is diffident of her abilities to deſcribe that moſt pathetic and moving conteſt, between his father and him. His father, by natural love, principally aiming at his ſon's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulſe, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare; his father grieved to ſee the well accompliſhed ſon of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turn his back on it; he, no leſs afflicted, to think that a compliance with his earthly father's pleaſure, was inconſiſtent with an obedience to his heavenly one; his father preſſing his conformity to the cuſtoms and faſhions of the times; he modeſtly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conſcience; his father earneſtly entreating him, and, almoſt on his knees, beſeeching him to yield to his deſire; he, of a loving and tender diſ-

poſition, in extreme agony of ſpirit, to behold his father's concern and trouble; his father threatening to diſinherit him; he humbly ſubmitting to his father's will therein; his father turning his back on him in anger; he lifting up his heart to God, for ſtrength, to ſupport him in that time of trial!"

A remarkable inſtance of his ſincerity.

During this conteſt, the writer of his life mentions one very remarkable inſtance, among others, of his ſincerity:—"His father, finding him too fixed, to be brought to a general compliance with the cuſtomary compliments of the times, ſeemed inclinable to have born with him, in other reſpects, provided he would be uncovered, in the preſence of the *king*, the *duke* and *himſelf;* this being propoſed, he deſired time to conſider of it; which his father ſuppoſing to be with an intention of conſulting his friends, the *Quakers*, about it, he aſſured him that he would ſee the face of none of them, but retire to his chamber, till he ſhould return him an anſwer. Accordingly he withdrew, and, having humbled himſelf before God, with faſting and ſupplication, to know his heavenly mind and will, he became ſo ſtrengthened in his reſolution, that, returning to his father, he humbly ſignified, that he could not comply with his deſire therein."

His father turns him out of doors a ſecond time.

"When all endeavours proved ineffectual to ſhake his conſtancy, and his father ſaw himſelf utterly diſappointed of his hopes, he could no longer endure him in his ſight, but turned him out of doors the ſecond time. Thus expoſed to the charity of his friends, having no other ſubſiſtence, (except what his mother privately ſent him) he endured the *croſs* with a *chriſtian* patience and magnanimity, comforting himſelf with the promiſe of *Chriſt;*—"*Verily I ſay unto you, there is no man, that hath left houſe, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children,* for the *kingdom of God's ſake, who ſhall not receive many fold more, in this preſent time, and in the world to come, life everlaſting.*"

"After

His father's wrath some what abated.

"After a conſiderable time, his ſteady perſeverance evincing his integrity, his father's wrath became ſomewhat mollified, ſo that he winked at his return to, and continuance in his family; and though he did not publicly ſeem to countenance him, yet, when impriſoned for being at meetings, he privately uſed his intereſt to get him releaſed."

1668.

"About the year 1668, being the 24th. of his age, (continues the writer of his life) he firſt appeared in the work of the miniſtry, rightly called to, and qualified for, that office; being ſent of God to teach others what himſelf had learned of him; commiſſioned from on high, to preach to others that holy *ſelf-denial*, which himſelf had practiſed; to recommend to all that ſerenity and peace of conſcience, which himſelf had felt; walking in the light, to call others out of darkneſs; having drank of the water of life, to direct others to the ſame fountain; having taſted of the heavenly bread, to incite all men to partake of the ſame banquet; being redeemed by the power of *Chriſt*, he was ſent to call others from under the dominion of *Satan*, into the glorious liberty of the ſons of *God*, that they might receive remiſſion of ſins, and an inheritance among them that are ſanctified through faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*."

Of the riſe, religious principles and practice, &c. of the people called Quakers.

Account of the Quakers, &c.

Before I proceed to be more particular reſpecting *William Penn*, I ſhall here intermit the further account of his life; and, that the reader might have ſome juſt idea of the people, with whom he joined in religious ſociety, and who firſt ſettled the province of *Pennſylvania*, under him, I ſhall next exhibit a ſhort *ſummary* of the riſe, religious principles, general ſyſtem and practice or manners, of the people called *Quakers*, ſufficient for the purpoſe, principally extracted from their own accounts,

and

and in their own words, referring the more inquiſitive enquirer to their particular writings, for further information.*

Evidences of God's providence, in the riſe of the Quakers.

Nothing can be a more ſignal evidence of an over-ruling Providence, ſuperintending the works of the creation, and directing the end of things, than the riſe of good out of evil; and the converſion of the wicked machinations of perverſe mankind to good purpoſes: that out of perſecution and hatred ſhould ſpring charity, and mutual benevolence; that from tyranny and ignorance ſhould flow rational liberty, and true knowledge, is as manifeſt a demonſtration of an all preſerving cauſe, as the creation itſelf is evident of its own exiſtence: this appears, in part, from the riſe of the religious people called *Quakers*, and the ſettling of the flouriſhing province of *Pennſylvania*.

Time of the riſe of the Quakers.

Near the middle of the 17th. century, during the civil war, in *England*, when men were tearing each other in pieces, and when confuſion and bloodſhed had overſpread the nation, many ſober and thinking perſons of the different religious ſocieties, weighing the uncertainty of human affairs, and beholding the various viciſſitudes in the political ſyſtem, after having examined the many vain and futile opinions, and abſurd cuſtoms, in religion, which were either impoſed, practiſed or inſiſted on, by the various profeſſors of *Chriſtianity*, under all denominations, in that country, withdrew themſelves from their aſſemblies for divine worſhip; and, having their minds turned to what appeared to them more rational, and conſiſtent with a rightly informed underſtanding, and a life more congruous, or agreeable, to the mind of that Deity which is ſpiritual, and communicates his goodneſs and knowledge

* Among other writings of this people, the reader is referred to the following:

Their hiſtory, by W. Sewel, in folio, and by J. Rutty, in 4to. Their ſufferings, in two vols. folio, by Joſ. Beſſe, alſo to the works, or writings, of R. Barclay, W. Penn, G. Fox, If. Penington, Samuel Fiſher, Ed. Burroughs, Fr. Howgill, Thomas Story, with many others.

knowledge more nearly through a medium of his own nature; and places the human mind above the reach of terreſtrial influence; they thence fell into that practical belief, and *chriſtian* conduct, which gave riſe to this religious ſociety.*

When firſt called Quakers. 1650.

It was not till the year 1650, that the name of *Quakers* was impoſed on them; who before had generally gone under the denomination of *profeſſors*, or *children*, of *the light;* but the moſt common appellation, by which they diſtinguiſhed themſelves from others, and even to this day, is by the name of *Friends*.

Cauſe and manner of their firſt riſe and uniting in ſociety.

"Now theſe people (ſaith *Robert Barclay*, one of their early and principal writers) who hold forth the principles and doctrines hereafter to be mentioned, were not gathered together by an unity of opinion, or by a tedious and particular diſquiſition of notions and opinions, requiring an aſſent to them, and binding themſelves by leagues and covenants thereto; but the manner of their gathering was by a ſecret want; which many truly tender and ſerious ſouls in divers and ſundry ſects, found in themſelves, which put each ſect in ſearch of ſomething beyond all opinion; which might ſatisfy their weary ſouls, even, the revelation of God's righteous judgment in their hearts, to burn up the unrighteous root and fruits thereof; that, the ſame being deſtroyed, and done away, the inward peace and joy of the holy ſpirit, in the ſoul, might be felt to abound, and thence power and life to follow him, in all his commandments. And ſo many came to be joined and united together in heart and ſpirit, in this one life of righteouſneſs, who had been long wandering in

* It may be here noted, that the ſame unhappy and diſtracted times likewiſe originally gave riſe to the inſtitution of the *Royal Society*, in *London:* When men were tired out with wars, contentions, and the changes conſequent thereon, divers perſons of genius and fortune began to turn their minds from the broils of ſtate affairs, to a philoſophic life; and by degrees formed that venerable body, for the promotion of ſcience and natural knowledge; a ſociety, which has done no ſmall honour to the *Britiſh* nation, and has been of great benefit to mankind.

Vide ſpectator, No. 262, on the riſe of the R. Society.

in the ſeveral ſects; and by the inward unity, came to be gathered in one body; from whence, by degrees, they came to find themſelves agreed in the plain and ſimple doctrines of *Chriſt*. And as this inward power,* they longed for, and felt, to give them victory over ſin, and bring the peace, that follows thereon, was that, whereby they were brought into that unity and community together; ſo they came firſt thence to accord in the *univerſal* preaching of this power to *all*, and directing all unto it; which is the *firſt and chiefeſt principle* held by them, *viz.*

First and chief principle of the Quakers.

"That there is ſomewhat of God, ſome light, ſome grace, ſome power, ſome meaſure of the ſpirit, ſome divine, ſpiritual, heavenly, ſubſtantial life and virtue, in all men; which is a faithful witneſs againſt all unrighteouſneſs, and ungodlineſs in the heart of man, and leads, draws, moves and inclines the mind of man to righteouneſs, and ſeeks to leaven him, as he gives way thereunto, into the nature of itſelf; whereby an inward, thorough and real redemption may be wrought in the hearts of all men, of whatſoever nation, country or kindred they be, notwithſtanding whatſoever outward knowledge, or benefit, they may be, by the providence of God, deprived of: becauſe whatſoever they want of that, yet ſuch a meaſure of this light, ſeed, life and word, is communicated to all, as is ſufficient truly to convert them from the evil of their ways, purify and cleanſe them, and conſequently bring them to ſalvation. And in the affirming of this, they do

* Whence the name of Quakers impoſed—

It may be obſerved, "that through the deep and inward operation of this *power* in them, a dread took hold on them, not only to the begetting of God's fear in their hearts, but even to the reaching and inſtructing of their outward man, hence the name of *Quakers*, or *Tremblers*, hath been in reproach, by their enemies caſt upon them, which ſerveth to diſtinguiſh them from others, *though not aſſumed by them*; yet as the *Chriſtians* of old, albeit the name of *Chriſtian* was caſt upon them by way of reproach, gloried in it, as deſiring, above all things, to be accounted the followers of *Chriſt*; ſo they alſo are glad the world reproacheth them as ſuch, who *tremble before the Lord, and who work out their ſalvation in fear and trembling*."

R. Barclay.

not at all exalt *ſelf*, or *nature;* (as do the Socinians) in that they freely acknowledge that man's nature is defiled and corrupted, and unable to help him one ſtep, in order to ſalvation; judging nothing more needful than the full and perfect denial and mortification of ſelf, in order thereunto. Nor do they believe this ſeed, light and grace to be any part of man's nature; or, any thing that properly, or eſſentially, is of man; but that it is a free grace and gift of God, freely given to *all men*, in order to bring them out of the *fall*, and lead them to life eternal. Neither do they ſuppoſe this ſeed, word and grace, which is ſufficient to lead to ſalvation, to be given to men *without Chriſt;* for they believe it to be the purchaſe of *Chriſt's death*, *who taſted death for every man:* ſo that they confeſs all to be derived to them in and by *Chriſt*, the mediator; to whom they aſcribe all. Yea, they believe this light, grace and ſeed to be no other, but a meaſure of that life and ſpirit, that was in *Chriſt Jeſus;* which, being in *him*, who is the head, in the fulneſs of it, is from *him*, (in whom it reſideth) as he is aſcended up unto, and glorified in, the heavens, *extended to all men*, in order to redeem them from ſin, and convert them to God."

"Thus, according to this principle, without attributing any thing to *ſelf* or to the nature of man, or, claiming any thing without *Chriſt*, *the univerſal love of God to all men* is exhibited; whereby the means of ſalvation by *Chriſt*, and reconciliation unto God, is ſo aſſerted, that *no man* is altogether excluded from it, but each ſo reached, as puts him into a capacity to be ſaved."

Hence, as it naturally ariſes from this *univerſal principle*, the *church Catholic*, or *univerſal*, without which there can be no ſalvation, is by them underſtood to comprehend all perſons, or ſo many, of every nation and kind of people, without exception, whether they have the knowledge and benefit

Definition of the church Catholic, or univerſal, &c.

Barclay's apology.

nefit of the *ſcriptures* and *chriſtianity* outwardly by word or not, as are obedient to the principle of the holy light and teſtimony of God, in their hearts, ſo as thereby to become cleanſed and ſanctified; of which *Catholic church* there may be members both among Heathens, Turks, Jews, and all the ſeveral ſorts of *Chriſtians*.

Particular outward & viſible church Ibid.

And this they think may not be derogatory from the propriety and neceſſity of a particular *outward viſible church of Chriſt;* which is abſolutely requiſite, where God affords the opportunity of the knowledge of *chriſtianity;* as it conſiſts of a ſociety, or number of perſons, who, through the belief of the true principles and doctrines of the *chriſtian faith;* their hearts being united by the ſame love of God, and their underſtandings informed in the ſame truths, aſſociate and aſſemble together, for *divine worſhip;* to bear a joint teſtimony for the *truth*, againſt *error;* and for the mutual edification and ſtrengthening of one another:—So that a perſon may be a member of the true *Catholic church*, who, at the ſame time, may not be a member of any particular *church of Chriſt:* but, that no man can properly be a real member of a particular *church of Chriſt*, who is not one of the *Catholic church;* and that the outward teſtimony and profeſſion of *chriſtianity* can only be requiſite to be believed and held forth, where it is known, or revealed, and not otherwiſe.

Of their worſhip.

Conſiſtent with the nature of this *univerſal principle*, and the difinition of the church ariſing therefrom, appears to be their *worſhip;* which, according to the account of it, given by themſelves, was more diveſted of thoſe numerous external and bodily exerciſes and performances, which either the ignorance or ingenuity of men, had introduced, under the ſpecious pretence of thereby rendering themſelves more acceptable to a *ſpiritual Being*, than that of any other religious ſocieties, known to them

them, at that time, under the name of *Chriſtians*:—A worſhip, which they profeſſed to be *ſpiritual*, and performed in the mind; not being confined to particular perſons, times, places, nor ceremonies; but more congruous to, or conſiſtent with the nature of a ſpiritual divinity, the object of all true *worſhip*, according to the *New Teſtament*; which expreſsly declares, "*that the worſhip of God ought to be performed in ſpirit and in truth, and not to be confined to any external mode, place or particular perſon; and for this reaſon, becauſe God is a ſpirit; and conſequently a ſpiritual worſhip is the ſole rational, and moſt agreeable to his nature:*"—This is the only precept, or declaration, concerning *divine worſhip*; and the manner of it, which is left us by the author of *Chriſtianity*.

Barclay's apology.

Hence ſaith R. Barclay, "Albeit, I ſay that this worſhip is neither limited to times, places nor perſons; yet I would not be underſtood, as if I intended the putting away all ſet times and places to *worſhip*: God forbid I ſhould be of ſuch an opinion. Nay, we are none of thoſe that *forſake the aſſembling of themſelves together*; but have even, certain times and places, in which we carefully meet together to wait upon God, and worſhip him. To meet together we think neceſſary for the people of God; becauſe, ſo long as we are cloathed with this outward tabernacle, there is a neceſſity to the entertaining of a *joint and viſible fellowſhip*, and bearing of an outward teſtimony for God, and ſeeing of the faces of one another; that we may concur with our perſons, as well as ſpirits;"—which meeting together is no part of worſhip in itſelf, but only a preparatory accommodation, in order to a public viſible worſhip; which conſiſts, when met, in a ſilent watching and waiting upon God in themſelves, (or in their minds) and a being gathered from all viſibles thereinto. And as every one is thus ſtated, they come to find the *good* over the *evil*, and the *pure* over the *impure*; in

Worſhip of the Quakers.

which God reveals himſelf, and draweth near to every individual; and ſo he is in the midſt, in the general; whereby each not only partakes of the particular refreſhment and ſtrength, which comes from the good in himſelf, but is a ſharer of the whole body, as being a living member of the body, having a juſt fellowſhip and communion with all. And, as this worſhip is ſtedfaſtly preached, and kept to, it becomes eaſy; though it be very hard, at firſt, to the natural man; whoſe roving imaginations, and running worldly deſires, are not eaſily brought to ſilence."—"And, as every one is thus gathered, and ſo met together inwardly, in their ſpirits, as well as outwardly, in their perſons, there the ſecret power and virtue of *life* is known to refreſh the ſoul, and the pure motions and breathings of God's ſpirit are felt to ariſe; from which, as words of declaration, prayers or praiſes, ariſe, the acceptable worſhip is known, which edifies the church, and is well pleaſing to God. And no man here limits the ſpirit of God, nor bringeth forth his own conned and gathered ſtuff; but every one puts that forth, which the Lord puts into their hearts; and it is utterred forth, not in man's *will and wiſdom*, but in the *evidence* and *demonſtration of the ſpirit and of power*. Yea, though there be not a word ſpoken, yet is the true ſpiritual worſhip performed, and the body of Chriſt edified; yea, it may and hath often fallen out among us, that divers meetings have paſſed without one word; and yet our ſouls have been greatly edified, and our hearts wonderfully overcome with the ſecret ſenſe of God's power and ſpirit; which, without words, have been miniſtered from one veſſel to another."—"Many are the bleſſed experiences, which I could relate of this *ſilence*, and manner of *worſhip*; yet I do not commend, and ſpeak of *ſilence*, as if we had a law in it, to ſhut out praying or preaching, or tied ourſelves thereunto; not at all: For, as our worſhip conſiſts not in the *words*, ſo neither

neither in *ſilence*, as *ſilence;* but *in an holy dependance of the mind upon God:* from which dependance ſilence neceſſarily follows, in the firſt place, until words can be brought forth, which are from God's ſpirit. And God is not wanting to move, in his *children*, to bring forth words of exhortation, or prayer, when it is needful; ſo that of the many gatherings and meetings of ſuch as are convinced of the truth, there is ſcarce any, in which God raiſeth not up ſome or other, to miniſter to his brethren; that there are few meetings, that are altogether *ſilent.*"—"And when any are, through the breaking forth of this power, conſtrained to utter a ſentence of exhortation or praiſe, or to breathe to the Lord, in prayer, then all are ſenſible of it; for the ſame life in them anſwers to it, as, in *water, face anſwereth to face.*"—"And there being many joined together in the ſame work, there is an inward travail and wreſtling; and alſo, as the meaſure of grace is abode in, an overcoming of the power and ſpirit of darkneſs (in the mind:) and thus we are often greatly ſtrengthened and renewed in the ſpirits of our minds, without a word, and we enjoy and poſſeſs the *holy fellowſhip and communion of the body and blood of Chriſt;* by which our inward man is nouriſhed and fed; which makes us not to dote upon outward *water*, and *bread* and *wine*, in our ſpiritual *things.*"—"This is that *divine and ſpiritual worſhip*, which the world neither knoweth nor underſtandeth, which the vulture's eye ſeeth not into."—"And its excellency is ſuch, that it can neither be ſtopped, intercepted nor counterfeited by the malice, or power of men or devils, as all others can."

As that, which is neceſſary to make a man a *Chriſtian*, ſo as without it he cannot be truly one, muſt conſequently be much more neceſſary to make a man a miniſter of *Chriſtianity*, (ſeeing the one is a degree above the other, and has it included in it) ſo this people accordingly maintained that, as the inward

Of their miniſtry.

inward call, power and virtue of the ſpirit of God is indiſpenſably neceſſary to make a man a true Chriſtian, ſo it muſt of conſequence be much more ſo, for the qualification of the miniſtry; without which they believe none can poſſibly be a true miniſter of the *new teſtament;* inſomuch that they aſſert, "that not only in a general apoſtacy it is needful men be extraordinarily called, and raiſed up by the ſpirit of God; but that, even when ſeveral aſſemblies, or churches, are gathered by the power of God, (not only into the belief of the principles of truth, ſo as to deny errors and hereſies, but alſo into the life, ſpirit and power of *Chriſtianity*, ſo as to be the body and houſe of *Chriſt* indeed, and a fit ſpouſe for him) that he, who gathers them, doth alſo, for the preſerving them in a lively, freſh and powerful condition, raiſe up, and move, among them, by the inward immediate operation of his own ſpirit, *miniſters* and *teachers*, to inſtruct, teach and watch over them: who being thus *called*, are manifeſt in the hearts of their brethren; and their *call* is thus verified in them; who, by the feeling of that life and power, that paſſeth through them, being inwardly builded up, by them daily, in the *moſt holy faith*, become the ſeals of their *apoſtleſhip*. And this is anſwerable to the ſaying of the apoſtle *Paul:* "ſince ye ſeek a proof of *Chriſt's* ſpeaking in me, which to you-wards is not weak, but is mighty in you."—"So this is that, which gives a *true, ſubſtantial call and title to a miniſter;* and not of the bare name: And to ſuch *miniſters* we think the outward ceremony of *ordination*, or *laying on of hands*, not neceſſary:"—neither are the outward qualifications of letter-learning, and ſchool divinity abſolutely requiſite:" * "But, in a true church of *Chriſt*

Barclay's apology.

The qualification, call, and title of their miniſters.

* Though they held, as above, a ſpiritual teaching and inſtruction, in the mind, moſt ſuitable, reaſonable, adequate and neceſſary to a ſpiritual intelligence in religion, yet they never meant thereby that natural ſcience and the knowledge of languages and literature, &c. were not uſeful, as the proper means, or medium, of communicating external knowledge and

See R. B's. writings, &c.

Chriſt gathered together by God, not only into the belief of the *principles of truth*, but alſo into the power, life and ſpirit of Chriſt, the ſpirit of God is the orderer, ruler and governor; as in each particular, ſo in the general. And when they aſſemble together, to wait upon God, and to worſhip and adore him; then ſuch as the ſpirit ſets apart for the miniſtry, by its divine power and influence, opening their mouths and giving them to exhort, reprove and inſtruct with virtue and power; theſe are thus of God *ordained and admitted* into the *miniſtry;* and their brethren cannot but hear them, and receive them, and alſo *honour them for their works ſake.* And ſo this is not monopoliſed to a certain kind of men, as the *Clergy* (who are to that purpoſe educated and brought up, as other carnal artiſts) and the reſt to be deſpiſed as *Laicks;* but it is left to the *free gift of God* to chooſe any whom he ſeeth meet thereunto, whether rich or poor, ſervant or maſter, young or old, yea, male or female. And ſuch as have this *call* verify the goſpel, by *preaching not in ſpeech only, but alſo in power*, and in the holy ghoſt, and in much fulneſs; and cannot but be received and heard by the *ſheep of Chriſt.*"

William Penn, in his account of the *riſe* and *progreſs* of this people, printed among his literary works, further obſerves:—" And as God had delivered their ſouls of the wearisome burden of ſin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of ſpirit, and ſatisfied their great hunger and thirſt after eternal

See W. Penn's riſe and progreſs of the Quakers. 1694.

and information among mankind, even, in religious affairs; (which is plainly manifeſted in the labours and literary works of this very author, R. Barclay, and divers others of that ſociety) as well as in the common outward concerns of life, and thoſe things, for which they are adequate and ſuitable: and therefore, they had ſchools and ſeminaries of learning among them, for the acquiſition thereof, and other uſeful ſciences, as other people have. But their excluding literature, or ſchool-learning, from being *abſolutely* neceſſary in divinity, according to the *Chriſtian* ſyſtem; and the great harm, which they believed and declared the general perverſion, or miſuſe thereof, had produced in Chriſtendom, occaſioned divers of them to be ſo ſevere on the ſubject, that many, from thence, have miſtakenly ſuppoſed, they entirely diſapproved of human learning in every reſpect.

nal righteouſneſs, and filled them with the good things of his own houſe, and made them ſtewards of his many-fold gifts; ſo they went forth to all quarters of theſe nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof *what God had done for them;* what they had found, and where and how they had found it, *viz. the way to peace with God;* inviting all to come and ſee and taſte, for themſelves, the truth of what they declared unto them."

The manner and purport of their preaching.

"And as their teſtimony was to the *principle of God in man*, the *precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom*, as the only bleſſed means, appointed of God, to quicken, convince and ſanctify men; ſo they opened to them what it was in *itſelf*, and what it was given to them for: how they might know it from their *own ſpirit* and *that* of the ſubtil appearance of the *evil one:* and what it would do for thoſe, whoſe minds ſhould be turned off from the vanity of the world, and its lifeleſs ways and teachers, and adhere to this bleſſed light in themſelves, which diſcovers and condemns ſin, in all its appearances, and ſhows how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifeſtations and convictions; giving power to ſuch, to avoid and reſiſt thoſe things, that do not pleaſe God, and to grow ſtrong in love, faith and good works: that ſo man, whom ſin hath made a *wilderneſs*, over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the *garden of God*, cultivated by his divine power, and repleniſhed with the moſt virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right hand planting, to his eternal praiſe."

They could not pray & preach when they pleaſed, &c.

"But theſe *experimental preachers of glad tidings*, of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they liſt, nor pray or preach when they pleaſed, but, as Chriſt, their redeemer, prepared and moved them, by his own bleſſed ſpirit; for which they waited in their ſervices and meetings, and ſpoke as that gave them *utterance;* and which was, as thoſe having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry and

and formal *Phariſees*. And ſo it plainly appeared to the ſerious minded, whoſe ſpiritual eye the Lord Jeſus had, in any meaſure, opened: ſo that to one was given the word of *reproof*, to another the word of *exhortation*, to another the word of *conſolation*, and all by the *ſame ſpirit*, and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many."

"And truly (ſaith *W. Penn*) they waxed ſtrong and bold, through faithfulneſs; and by the power and ſpirit of the Lord *Jeſus* became very fruitful; thouſands, in a ſhort time, being turned to the truth, in the inward parts, through their teſtimony, in miniſtry and ſufferings; inſomuch as, in moſt countries, and many of the conſiderable towns of *England*, meetings were ſettled, and daily were added ſuch as ſhould be ſaved, for they were diligent to *plant* and to *water;* and the Lord bleſſed their labours with an exceeding great *increaſe;* notwithſtanding all the oppoſition, made to their bleſſed progreſs by the falſe rumours, calumnies and bitter perſecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every one that liſted to injure and abuſe them: ſo that they ſeemed, indeed, to be as *poor ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter and as a people, killed all the day long*."—"So many and cruel were the ſufferings of this people on a religious account, and, in part, recorded in their writings, which they endured from profeſſors, as well as from profane, and from magiſtrates, as well as the rabble, that it may be truly ſaid of this abuſed and deſpiſed people, they went forth *weeping*, and ſowed in *tears*, bearing teſtimony to the *precious ſeed*, even, the *ſeed of the kingdom*, which ſtands not in *words*, the fineſt, the higheſt, that man's wit can uſe, but in *power;* the power of *Chriſt Jeſus*, to whom God the Father, hath given *all* power, in heaven and in earth; that he might rule *angels* above, and *men* below; who empowered them, as their work witneſſeth, by the many, that were *turned*,

See their ſufferings in 2 vols. fol. by Joſ. Beſſe, &c.

ed, through their *miniſtry*, from darkneſs to light, and out of the broad into the narrow way of life and peace; bringing people to a weighty, ſerious and God-like converſation, the practice of that doctrine, which they taught."

Of their miniſters and miniſtry, W. Penn ſpeaks as follows:

W. Penn on their miniſters and miniſtry, &c.

1. "They were changed men themſelves before they went abroad to change others. Their hearts were rent, as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was ſeen by the great alteration it made; and their ſtricter courſe of life, and more godly converſation, that immediately followed upon it."

2. "They went not forth to preach in their own time, or will, but in the *will of God;* and ſpoke not their own ſtudied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his ſpirit; with which they were well acquainted, in their own converſion; which cannot be expreſſed to carnal men, ſo as to give them any intelligible account; for to ſuch it is as *Chriſt* ſaid, *like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows whence it cometh, or whither it goeth.*— Yet this proof and zeal went along with their miniſtry, that many were turned from their lifeleſs profeſſions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and an holy life as thouſands can witneſs. And as they freely received, what they had to ſay, from the Lord, ſo they freely adminiſtered it to others."—

Barclay's apology, &c.

(And, as *R. Barclay* further obſerves on the ſubject) "they coveted no man's ſilver, gold nor apparel; ſought no man's goods; but ſought them, and the ſalvation of their ſouls: whoſe hands ſupplied their own neceſſities, working honeſtly for bread, for themſelves and families. And if, at any time, they were called of God, ſo as the work of the Lord hindered them from the work of their trades, they took what was freely given them by ſuch,

ſuch, to whom they had communicated ſpirituals, and having food and raiment, were therewith content.

3. "The bent and ſtreſs of their miniſtry (continues *W. Penn*) was *converſion* to God, *regeneration* and *holineſs*. Not ſchemes of doctrines, and verbal creeds, or new forms of worſhip; but a leaving off, in religion, the ſuperfluous, and reducing the ceremonies, and formal part, and preſſing earneſtly, the *ſubſtantial*, the *neceſſary* and profitable part, to the ſoul.

4 "They directed people to a *principle in themſelves*, though not of themſelves, by which all, that they aſſerted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true: which is an high and diſtinguiſhing mark of the truth of their miniſtry, both that they knew what they ſaid, and were not afraid of coming to the teſt: for, as they were bold from certainty, ſo they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction of this *principle;* which they aſſerted was in them, that they preached unto; and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of theſe things, which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifeſtation, and work in man. And this is more than the many miniſters in the world pretend to."—"Thus this people did not only in words, more than equally with others, preſs repentance, converſion and holineſs, but *over* and *above* did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed thoſe, to whom they preached, to a ſufficient principle; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it, to their ſouls' happineſs; which is more than *theory* and *ſpeculation;* upon which moſt other miniſters depend: for here is certainty; a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God, in the great day of account.

5. "They reached to the inward ſtate and condition of people, which is evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their miniſtering from it, and not from their own imaginations, gloſſes or comments, upon ſcripture. For nothing reaches the heart, but what is from the heart, or pierces the conſcience, but what comes from a living conſcience. Inſomuch, as it hath often happened, where people have, under ſecrecy, revealed their ſtate, or condition, to ſome choice friends, for advice, or eaſe; they have been ſo particularly directed, in the miniſtry of this people, that they have challenged their friends, with diſcovering their ſecrets, and telling their preachers their caſes, to whom a word had not been ſpoken. Yea, the very thoughts and purpoſes of the hearts of many have been ſo plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out of this inward appearance of *Chriſt*, "*Thou art the ſon of God, thou art the king of Iſrael.*" And thoſe, that have embraced this divine principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity, that the woman of Samaria did of Chriſt, when in the fleſh, to be the Meſſiah, *viz. It had told them all that ever they had done;* ſhewn them their inſides, the moſt inward ſecrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteouſneſs to the plummet; of which thouſands can, at this day, give in their witneſs. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people, of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that ſuch as have turned to it, have not found true, and more; and that half had not been told them, of what they have ſeen of the power, purity, wiſdom and goodneſs of God therein.

6. "The accompliſhments, with which this principle fitted, even ſome of the meaneſt of this people, for their work and ſervice; furniſhing ſome of them with an extraordinary underſtanding, in divine things, and an admirable fluency and taking way of expreſſion,

expreſſion, gave occaſion to ſome to wonder, ſaying of them, as of their maſter, " *Is not this ſuch a mechanic's ſon? How came he by this learning?* As from thence others took occaſion to ſuſpect and inſinuate, they were *Jeſuits* in diſguiſe, who had the reputation of learned men for an age paſt, though there was not the leaſt ground of truth for any ſuch reflection, in that their miniſters are known, the places of their abode, their kindred and education.

7. " That they came forth *low, deſpiſed and hated*, as the primitive *Chriſtians* did; and not by the help of worldly wiſdom or power, as former reformations, in part, have done: But, in all things, it may be ſaid, *this people were brought forth in the croſs; in a contradiction to the ways, worſhips, faſhions and cuſtoms of this world; yea, againſt wind and tide; that no fleſh might glory before God.*

8. " They could have no *deſign* to themſelves, in this work, thus to expoſe themſelves to *ſcorn* and *abuſe;* to ſpend and be ſpent: leaving wife and children, houſe and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands; being daily in jeopardy, to declare this *primitive meſſage*, revived in their ſpirits, by the good ſpirit and power of God, *viz.* That God is light and in him is no darkneſs at all; and that he has ſent his ſon, a light into the world, to enlighten all men, in order to ſalvation; and that they, that ſay they have fellowſhip with God, and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkneſs, *viz.* in diſobedience to the light in their conſciences, and after the vanity of this world, they *lie*, and do not the *truth.* But, that all ſuch as love the light, and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, his Son, ſhould cleanſe them from all ſin.

John i. ch. 4. and 19. iii. ch. 20, 21. I. John i. ch. 5, 6, 7.

9.

9. "Their known great conſtancy and patience, in ſuffering for their teſtimony, in all the branches of it, and that ſometimes unto death, by beatings, bruiſings, long and crowded impriſonments, and noiſome dungeons. Four of them, in *New England*, dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching among that people; beſides baniſhments, and exceſſive plunders and ſequeſtrations of their goods and eſtates, almoſt in all parts, not eaſy to be expreſſed, and leſs to have been endured, but by thoſe that have the ſupport of a good and glorious cauſe; refuſing deliverance by any indirect ways, or means, as often as it was offered to them.

10. "That they did not only not ſhew any diſpoſition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies; ſhewing mercy to thoſe, who had none for them.

11. "Their plainneſs with thoſe in authority, like the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them, to their faces, of their private and public ſins: and their prophecies to them of their afflictions and downfall, when in the top of their glory:—Alſo of ſome national judgments; as, of the *plague* and *fire* of *London*, in expreſs terms; and likewiſe particular ones, on divers perſecutors, which accordingly overtook them; and were very remarkable in the places, where they dwelt, which in time, may be made public for the glory of God."

Of their doctrines.

"As to the *doctrine*, which they taught, (ſays the ſame author) having already given ſome account of their fundamental principle, their *characteriſtic;* or main diſtinguiſhing principle, *viz. the light of Chriſt within;* which is, as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines, that grew, and branched out from it, I ſhall, therefore, now ſpeak of them, in their natural and experimental order.

Repentance.

"Firſt, *repentance* from dead works, to ſerve the living God; which comprehends three operations; firſt

firſt, a *ſight* of ſin; ſecondly, a *ſenſe* and *godly ſorrow* for ſin; thirdly, an *amendment* for the time to come. This was the repentance, they preached and preſſed, and a natural reſult from the principle, they turned all people to. For of *light* came *ſight;* and of *ſight* came *ſenſe* and *ſorrow;* and of *ſenſe* and *ſorrow* came *amendment* of life. Which *doctrine* of *repentance* leads to *juſtification;* that is, *forgiveneſs* of ſins, that are paſt, through *Chriſt*, the alone *propitiation* and the *ſanctification* or *purgation* of the ſoul, from the defiling nature and habits of ſin preſent, by the ſpirit of *Chriſt* in the ſoul; which is *juſtification*, in the complete ſenſe of the word, comprehending both juſtification from the guilt of the ſins that are paſt, as if they never had been committed, through the love and mercy of God in *Chriſt Jeſus;* and the creatures being made inwardly *juſt*, through the cleanſing and ſanctifying power and ſpirit of *Chriſt* revealed in the ſoul, which is commonly called *ſanctification:* But that none can come to know Chriſt to be their ſacrifice, that reject him as their ſanctifier; the end of his coming being to ſave his people from the *nature* and *defilement*, as well as *guilt*, of ſin; and that, therefore, thoſe that reſiſt his light and ſpirit, make his coming and offering of none effect to them.

"From hence ſprang a ſecond *doctrine*, they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling, to all true Chriſtians, *viz. perfection from ſin*, according to the ſcriptures of truth; which teſtify it to be the end of Chriſt's coming, and the nature of his kingdom; and for which his ſpirit was, and is given, *viz.* to be *perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect;* and *holy, becauſe God is holy.*" And this the apoſtles laboured for; that the *Chriſtians* ſhould be *ſanctified throughout, in body, ſoul and ſpirit.*" But they never held a perfection in *wiſdom* and *glory* in this life, or from *natural infirmities*, Perfection from ſin.

or

or *death;* as ſome have, with a weak, or ill mind, imagined, or inſinuated againſt them.

" This they called a *redeemed ſtate*, *regeneration*, or the *new birth:* teaching every where, according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Eternal rewards and puniſhments.

" Thirdly, This leads to an acknowledgment of *eternal rewards and puniſhments*, as they have good reaſon; for elſe, of *all people*, certainly they muſt be the *moſt miſerable;* who, for above forty years,* have been exceeding great ſufferers, for their profeſſion, and in ſome caſes, treated worſe than the worſt of men; yea, as the *refuſe* and *off-ſcouring* of all things.

" This was the purport of their *doctrine* and *miniſtry;* which, for the moſt part, is what other profeſſors of Chriſtianity pretend to hold, in words and forms, but not in the power of godlineſs; which, generally ſpeaking has been long loſt, by men's departing from that *principle and ſeed of life*, that is *in* man; and which man has not regarded, but loſt the *ſenſe* of; and in, and by which only, he can be quickened in his mind, to ſerve the living God, in newneſs of life. For as the life of religion was loſt, and the generality lived and worſhipped God, after their *own wills*, and not after the *will* of *God*, nor the mind of *Chriſt*, which ſtood in the works, and fruits of the *holy ſpirit;* ſo that which they preſſed was not *notion*, but *experience;* not *formality*, but *Godlineſs;* as being ſenſible in themſelves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that, without holineſs, no man ſhall ſee the Lord with *comfort.*"

Having thus far mentioned the manner of the firſt riſe of this people, with their prime, or fundamental principle, and ſome of their chief doctrines,

* W. P. writ this about the year 1694.

trines, arising from it, in the next place, follows an account of that order, and discipline, with divers customs, more peculiar to themselves, than to others, into which as a reformed society, by the same principle they professed themselves to be led and brought; and of that innocent, exemplary and uniform life and conduct, for which, consistent therewith, they are said to have been very remarkable among all sorts of people, to whom they were known, in early time.

Of their other doctrines, customs and discipline.

Of these customs, doctrines and practices, or manners, for which they were, and still are, more particularly distinguishable, I shall first observe, that though some of them may probably appear singular, or trivial to strangers, and to those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the moderation and sincerity of this people, yet, as they profess them to arise from this fundamental and universal principle, held by them, as before mentioned; from which all the virtues spring, and every practice is more or less important, and not from any whimsical, or selfish humour, or desire to appear singular, so, in this light, if it be granted as reasonable, a contrariety of conduct will rather appear, and ought to be accounted, singular, strange or out of the way;— seeing, it is very plain, their adversaries themselves, in placing so much stress, as they have done, on the practice of the contrary, in the view of this people, indefensible, have rendered some of these apparently insignificant things of much greater importance than they would otherwise have been; I shall therefore, in this abstract, arrange them under certain following heads, referring to their own writings, for their *reasons* and *probations* of their use and practice, *viz.*

1. Their justice, veracity and true christian fortitude.

2. Their temperance and moderation.

3. Their charity, and loving one another.

1. Under the firſt of theſe *heads* it is not my intention to ſpecify every particular, which may properly come under it, in reſpect to the juſt and due appropriation of the true and proper attributes and rights, of God and man reſpectively; but as their ſenſe of juſtice and propriety, in theſe reſpects, went conſiderably higher, and led them further, in their practice, than that of other people, I ſhall, therefore, only mention thoſe things, for which they were particularly diſtinguiſhed from them, *viz.*

Their diſuſe of compliments, &c.

Firſt, Their diſuſe of vain compliments, and flattering titles, bowing, kneeling, and uncovering the head to mankind; and their uſing the ſingular language, *thou* and *thee*, to a ſingle perſon, in diſcourſe, according to the true form of ſpeech; though ſo contrary to the general practice of people in common; believing all tokens of adoration and worſhip belong to God only; and that plain, but civil language, and true ſpeeches are moſt becoming the profeſſors and followers of truth. Reſpecting theſe and other things of that nature, *R. Barclay* obſerves;—" I would not have any judge, that hereby we intend to deſtroy the *mutual relation* that either is betwixt *prince and people*, *maſter and ſervant*, *parents and children;* nay, not at all; we ſhall evidence that our principle in theſe things, hath no ſuch tendency, and that theſe natural relations are rather better eſtabliſhed, than any ways hurt by it."—" Thus (ſays *W. Penn*) *not to reſpect perſons*, was, and is another of their doctrines and practices; for which they were often buffeted and abuſed. They affirmed it to be ſinful, to give flattering titles, or to uſe vain geſtures and compliments of reſpect; though to virtue and authority they ever made a *difference;* but after their plain and homely manner, yet ſincere and ſubſtantial way; well remembering the good examples of *Mordecai* and *Elihu*, but more eſpecially the command of their lord and maſter, *Jeſus Chriſt;*

They do not reſpect perſons.

Chriſt; who forbade his followers to call men, *Rabbi;* which implies *Lord* or *Maſter;* alſo the faſhionable *greetings* and *ſalutations* of thoſe times; that ſo *ſelf love* and *honor*, to which the proud mind of man is incident in his *fallen ſtate*, might not be indulged, but rebuked. And though this rendered their converſation diſagreeable; yet they that will remember what *Chriſt* ſaid to the *Jews*, "*How can you believe me, who receive honor one from another,*" will abate of their reſentment, if his doctrine has any credit with them."

They ſpeak the plain language *thou* and *thee*, to a ſingle perſon.

"They alſo uſed the plain language of *thou* and *thee* to a ſingle perſon, whatſoever was his degree among men. And, indeed, the wiſdom of God, was much ſeen, in bringing forth this people, in ſo plain an appearance: for it was a *cloſe* and *diſtinguiſhing teſt* upon the *ſpirits* of thoſe, they came among; ſhewing their *inſides*, and what *predominated*, notwithſtanding their high and great profeſſion of religion. This among the reſt, ſounded ſo harſh to many of them, that they took very great offence at it; forgetting the language they uſe to God, in their prayers, and the common ſtile of the ſcriptures; and that it is an abſolute and eſſential propriety of ſpeech."

Some ſalutations not uſed by them.

"Nor could they humour the cuſtom of *good night, good-morrow, God ſpeed;* for they knew the *night* was good, and the *day* was good, without wiſhing of either; and that, in the other expreſſion, the holy name of God was *too lightly*, and unthoughtfully uſed; and therefore, taken *in vain*. Beſides, they were words and wiſhes of *courſe*, and are uſually as little *meant*, as are *love* and *ſervice*, in the cuſtom of cap and knee; and ſuperfluity in theſe, as well as in other things, was burdenſome to them and therefore they did not only decline the uſe of them, but found themſelves often preſſed to reprove the practice."

To

They do not obſerve holy days faſt days, &c.

To this place may be referred, their *non-obſervance* of thoſe called *holy days*, and *days* appointed for *faſtings*, *prayings* and *rejoicings;* as being religious ceremonies preſcribed by men, whom they did not allow to have a juſt right to impoſe any religious practice on, or againſt, the conſcience which is God's peculiar prerogative.

Their manner of naming the days of the week, &c.

They were likewiſe in the cuſtom of uſing the numerical names of the *months*, and *days* of the *week*, eſpecially the latter; as, *firſt*, *ſecond*, *third* day of the *week*, &c. inſtead of the vulgar names of the heathen gods, commonly uſed, and given to thoſe days, by other people; and ſo inconſiſtent with a thorough chriſtian practice, in that reſpect.*

They refuſe to pay tithes, church rates, &c.

Secondly, Their refuſing to pay *tithes* and *wages* towards the ſupport of a miniſtry, from which they received no advantage, but entirely diſowned, ſo unreaſonably exacted of them by its advocates and votaries; of which ſays W. Penn, "Another part of the character of this people was and is, that they refuſe to pay *tithes*, or maintenance to a national miniſtry; and that for two reaſons; the one is, they believe all *compelled* maintenance, even to *goſpel* miniſters, to be unlawful; becauſe expreſsly contrary to *Chriſt's* command, who ſaid, "*Freely*

* As our common names of the months were firſt impoſed by the *Pagan Romans;* ſome of them in honor of their *gods;* as *January*, *February* and *March;* others, in complaiſance to common ſtrumpets; as, *April* and *May;* while others were denominated in honor of their *deified emperors;* as, *July* and *Auguſt;* moſt of the reſt being numerical; ſo the vulgar names of the days of the week, now uſed, are handed to us from our heathen anceſtors, the *Saxons;* which they are ſaid to have introduced, in reference to their *idols*, which they, under particular repreſentations, or figures, worſhipped, as *gods*, on the reſpective days, appropriated for each of them; hence, to the firſt day of the week, on which they worſhipped the *Sun*, they gave the name of *Sun's day*, or *Sunday:* and ſo of the reſt; adoring the *Moon*, on *Monday;* and their idols *Tuiſco*, on *Tueſday; Woden* on *Wedneſday; Thor*, on *Thurſday; Friga*, on *Friday;* and *Seater* on *Saturday*, calling it *Seater's* day, &c.— The *Quakers* thought the common names as expreſſed in the New Teſtament, more ſuitable and proper for the uſe of Chriſtians, than the vulgar pagan appellation; and, even, preferable, ſetting aſide Chriſtianity, in the caſe: neither did they like the imitation thereof, in the names of popiſh ſaints, given to times and places, and other ſimilar ceremonies and obſervations.

"*Freely you have received, freely give:*"—at leaſt, that the maintenance of goſpel miniſters ſhould be *free*, and not forced. The other reaſon of their refuſal is, becauſe thoſe miniſters are not goſpel ones; in that the *Holy Ghoſt* is not their foundation, but human arts and parts, ſo that it is not matter of humour, or fullenneſs, but pure conſcience towards God, that they cannot help to ſupport national miniſtries, where they dwell; which but too much, and too viſibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment."

They ſtrictly pay their taxes to the government.

Thirdly, Their great care and ſtrictneſs, in rendering to *Cæſar*, according to their manner of expreſſion, that is, to the *government*, its *dues;* in the punctual payment of taxes, cuſtoms, and diſcouraging all illicit and clandeſtine *trade*; and in being at a word in their dealings:—Inſomuch, that, in their particular printed advices to their brethren, they ſay,—"As the bleſſed truth, we profeſs, teacheth us to do juſtly to all men, in all things; even ſo more eſpecially, *in a faithful ſubjection to the government*, in all godlineſs and honeſty; continuing to render unto the king what is his due, in taxes and cuſtoms, payable to him according to law."—"For our ancient teſtimony hath ever been, and ſtill is, againſt defrauding the king of any of the above mentioned particulars, and againſt buying goods reaſonably ſuſpected to be *run*,"—"or doing any other thing whatſoever to the injury of the king's revenue, or of the common good, or to the hurt of the fair trader; ſo, if any perſon or perſons, under our name or profeſſion, ſhall be known to be guilty of theſe, or any other ſuch *crimes* and *offences*, we do earneſtly adviſe the reſpective *monthly meetings*, (hereafter explained) to which ſuch *offenders* belong, that they ſeverely repremand, and *teſtify againſt* ſuch offenders, and their unwarrantable, clandeſtine, and unlawful actions;—we being under great obligations of gratitude, as well as *duty*, to manifeſt, *that we*

See Y. meeting epiſtle for 1715, 1719, 1732, &c.

are

are as truly conſcientious to render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, as to ſupport any other branch of our Chriſtian teſtimony."—And ſo great was the importance of this affair with them, that an annual enquiry was regularly made through all parts of the *Britiſh* dominions, where they had members of ſociety, whether the purport of theſe advices were duly put in practice, or not, and to enforce the ſame.

They were at a word in their dealings. J. Rutty.

"It hath moreover been a well known, diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of this people, that anciently they did, from a *religious principle*, keep to a *word*, in *buying* and *ſelling*, and forbear that multiplicity of words, in making *bargains;* in which, how common ſoever among dealers, there wanteth not ſin, as the wiſe man obſerves, nor very often deceit."—"For they were, (ſays W. Penn) at a word in their dealing; nor could their cuſtomers, with *many words*, tempt them from it, having more regard for *truth*, than cuſtom; to example than gain."

They refrained from certain things accounted lawful, as the ſlave trade, &c.

Fourthly, As their juſtice was very remarkable in their ſtrict and conſtant adherence to the laws not only reſpecting the government's dues, but in every other caſe, where their conſciences, in reference to things of a religious nature, were not affected thereby; in which ſituation nevertheleſs they were always paſſive; ſo were they very particularly diſtinguiſhable for refraining from certain things, under the articles of trade, even, accounted lawful, or permitted by the laws of the land, where they lived, which they thought *unchriſtian*, or *unjuſt;* among which I find *the trading in ſlaves;* or the *importation* of *negroes* from their native country into other parts of the world, for *ſlaves*, was a practice ever highly cenſured, and a traffic never allowed among them, in *Great Britain*, though permitted and protected *by the Legiſlature*.*

See Y. meeting minutes, in M. S. for 1727, &c. J. Rutty.

Fifthly,

* It may be noted, that, though ſome of this ſociety, in *America*, in early time, when ſervants were very ſcarce, or aſſiſtance difficult to be

Fifthly, Their *truth ſpeaking*, and *refuſing to ſwear*, on any occaſion; uſing the plain and ſimple affirmation and negative, inſtead of an oath. They refuſe to ſwear on any occaſion. "Another doctrine of theirs (ſays *W. Penn*) was the *ſufficiency of truth-ſpeaking*, according to Chriſt's own form of ſound words, of *yea, yea; nay, nay*, among Chriſtians, *without ſwearing*, both from Chriſt's prohibition, *to ſwear not at all*, Matt. v. and for, that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themſelves, there was no neceſſity for an oath; and it would be a reproach to their *Chriſtian* veracity to aſſure their truth by ſuch an *extraordinary* way of ſpeaking; ſimple and uncompounded anſwers, as, *yea* and *nay*, (without aſſeverations, atteſtations, or ſupernatural vouchers) being moſt ſuitable to evangelical righteouſneſs. But offering, at the ſame time, to be puniſhed to the full, for *falſe ſpeaking*, as others for *perjury*, if ever guilty of it; and hereby they exclude with all true, *all falſe and profane ſwearing*, for which the land did, and doth mourn; and the great God was, and is, not a little offended with it."

Sixthly, Their cheerfully and valiantly ſuffering, both in perſon and eſtate, from all ranks of people, for their conſcientious non-compliance with the vulgar and unreaſonable cuſtoms of the times, in which they lived, without endeavouring any retaliation, when in their power; their ſteady perſeverance, in patiently and paſſively enduring, for a long Their valiantly ſuffering for their teſtimony.

got, in that country, inadvertently fell into the practice of purchaſing theſe *negro-ſlaves*, after they were imported, and others receiving them by inheritance, &c. whereby formerly, in this part of the world, divers of them became poſſeſſed of theſe people:—Yet this unnatural traffic there has been ſince, and is now, juſtly and entirely diſapproved and forbidden among them, *in all its branches:*—A trade ſo monſtrous and abominable, ſo unparallelled, both in ancient and modern hiſtory, all its circumſtances, cruelty, and the whole manner of carrying it on, being impartially and duly conſidered, that it ſeems unaccountable and aſtoniſhing, that any nation, at leaſt, pretending to juſtice and chriſtianity, ſhould countenance or tolerate ſuch a practice, ſuch an unnatural, and moſt deteſtable traffic!—Nay in its conſequences, moſt manifeſtly impolitic, as well as a moſt pernicious, diabolical and inhuman buſineſs! both in its preſent operation and conſequential effects, &c.

long ſeries of years, the rigour of ſuch laws, as either deſignedly, or otherwiſe, affected their conſciences, and were uſed to force, or compel, conformity, in religious matters; which they always diſtinguiſhed from civil affairs, ſo abundantly demonſtrate the Chriſtian patience and fortitude of this people, that it would fill a large volume to ſpecify only the principal, or at leaſt, the common incidents of this nature, which have been conſpicuous among them: therefore, referring to their own writings, for an account of them, I ſhall only here inſert what *R. Barclay* mentions, in ſhort, on this point, in addreſſing *his apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity*, as held by this people, to *king Charles the ſecond;* who, after having hinted their hard and cruel ſufferings, both under *Cromwell* and the *parliament*, and alſo after the king's reſtoration, ſays,—" For indeed their ſufferings are ſingular and obviouſly diſtinguiſhable from all the reſt of ſuch as live under thee, in theſe two reſpects."

R. Barclay's apology, &c.

" *Firſt*, In that, among all the plots contrived by others againſt thee, ſince thy return into *Britain*, there never was any, owned by that people, found or known to be guilty (though many of them have been taken and impriſoned on ſuch kind of jealouſies) but were always found innocent and harmleſs, as became the followers of Chriſt; not coveting after, nor contending for, the kingdoms of this world, but ſubject to every ordinance of man, for conſcience ſake."

R. Barclay.

" *Secondly*, In that, in the hotteſt times of perſecution, and the moſt violent proſecutions of thoſe laws, made againſt meetings, *being cloathed with innocency*, they have boldly ſtood to their teſtimony for God, without creeping into holes, or corners, or once hiding themſelves, *as all other diſſenters have done;* but daily met according to their cuſtom, in the public places appointed for that end;

ſo

ſo that none of thy officers can ſay of them, that they have ſurpriſed them in a corner, overtaken them in a private conventicle, or catched them lurking in their ſecret chambers; nor needed they to ſend out ſpies to get them, whom they were ſure daily to find in their open aſſemblies, teſtifying for God and his truth."

2. Under the *ſecond head of temperance and moderation*, which were conſpicuous through their whole conduct, it is not my deſign to enumerate every thing, practiſed by them, which properly belongs to theſe virtues; but only, as before, principally to exhibit wherein they were diſtinguiſhable from other people, in theſe reſpects. Second head.

Firſt, Their *diſuſe of all gaming*, and *vain ſports*; as the frequenting of *plays*, *horſe-races*, *&c.* was a cuſtom ſtrictly and conſtantly adhered to by them; as being moſt conſiſtent with a truly chriſtian life; the uſe of theſe, and ſimilar things, having, in their eſtimation, a manifeſt and infallible tendency to draw away, and alienate the human mind from the moſt important object of true happineſs, as thus expreſſed by *R. Barclay*, viz. Their diſuſe of gaming, ſports, plays, &c.

"It will not be denied but that men ought to be more in love of God, than of any other thing; for we ought to love *God above all things*. Now it is plain, that men, who are taken up with love, whether it be of women, or of any other thing, if it hath taken a deep place in the heart, and poſſeſs the mind, it will be hard for the man ſo in love, to drive out of his mind the perſon, or thing ſo beloved; yea, in his eating, drinking and ſleeping, his mind will always have a tendency that way; and in buſineſs, or recreations, however intent he be in it, there will be but a very ſhort ſpace of time permitted to paſs, but his mind will let ſome ejaculation forth towards its *beloved*. And albeit ſuch an one muſt be converſant in thoſe things, that the care of this body, and ſuch like things call for; R. Barclay.

yet

yet will he avoid, as death itſelf, to do thoſe things that may offend the party ſo beloved, or croſs his deſign in obtaining the thing ſo earneſtly deſired: though there may be ſome ſmall uſe in them, the great deſign, which is chiefly in his eye, will ſo balance him, that he will eaſily look over, and diſpenſe with ſuch petty neceſſities, rather than endanger the loſs of the greater by them. Now, that men ought to be thus *in love with God*, and *the life to come*, none will deny; and the thing is apparent from theſe ſcriptures, Matt. vi. 20. *but lay up for yourſelves treaſures in heaven.* Col. iii. 2. *ſet your affections on things above, &c.* and that this hath been the experience and attainment of ſome the ſcripture alſo declares, Pſalm lxiii. 1, 8. 2 Cor. v. 2."

" And again, that theſe games, ſports, plays, dancings, comedies, &c. do naturally tend to draw men from *God's fear;* to make them forget *heaven, death* and *judgment;* to foſter *luſt, vanity* and *wantonneſs;* and therefore are moſt *beloved*, as well as *uſed* by ſuch kind of perſons, experience abundantly ſhews, and the moſt ſerious and conſcientious, among all, will ſcarcely deny; which if it be ſo, the application is eaſy."

They avoided ſuperfluity, &c.

Secondly, They avoided ſuperfluity in the general courſe of their living; obſerving ſuch a temperate medium in the uſe of things, as they were ſenſible conduced moſt to a good ſtate both of body and mind; which diſtinguiſhed them from others, not only in their *eating and drinking*, in their *converſation and diſcourſe*, being generally of few words, but pertinent; but alſo in the *furniture of their houſes*, their *apparel*, or *dreſs;* and in their *births, marriages and funerals;* and not only ſo but they even ſometimes, condemned and diſuſed what only had a tendency to exceſs;—" Thus (ſays *W. Penn*, on the cuſtom of drinking healths) they forbore drinking to people, or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is: a practice, that is

They did not drink healths, &c.

not

not only unneceſſary but they thought, *evil*, in the tendencies of it, being a *provocation* to drink more than did people good, as well as that it was in itſelf *vain and heatheniſh.*"

They are not for levelling, &c.

But, in regard to ſeveral of ſuch things, and the proper uſe of temporal enjoyments, *R. Barclay* further obſerves:—" Let not any one judge, that from our opinion in theſe things, any neceſſity of *levelling* will follow; or, that all men muſt have things in *common;* our principle leaves every man to enjoy that peaceably, which either his own induſtry, or his parents, have purchaſed for him; only he is thereby inſtructed to uſe it aright, both for his own good and that of his brethren; and all to the glory of God: in which alſo his acts are to be *voluntary*, and in no ways *conſtrained.* And further, we ſay not hereby, that no man may uſe the creation more or leſs than another: for we know, that as it hath pleaſed God to diſpenſe it diverſely, giving to ſome more, and to ſome leſs, ſo they may uſe it accordingly."—" The ſafe place then is, for ſuch as have fulneſs, to watch over themſelves, that they uſe it moderately, and reſcind all ſuperfluities, being willing, as far as they can, to help the need of thoſe, to whom Providence hath allotted a ſmaller allowance. Let the brother of high degree rejoice, in that he is abaſed; and ſuch as God calls, in a low degree, be content with their condition, not envying thoſe brethren, who have a greater abundance; knowing they have received abundance, as to the inward man; which is chiefly to be regarded. And therefore, beware of ſuch a temptation, as to uſe their calling as an engine to be *richer*, knowing they have this advantage beyond the *rich* and *noble*, that are called, that the truth doth not any ways abaſe them, nay, not in the eſteem of the world, as it doth, in the others; but that they are rather exalted thereby, in that, as to the inward and ſpiritual fellowſhip of the

ſaints, they become the brethren and companions of the *greateſt* and *richeſt;* and, in this reſpect, *let him of low degree rejoice that he is exalted.*"

Of their chriſtian charity.

As to the *third head*, in what manner they held and practiſed *chriſtian charity*, in its higheſt and ſublimeſt ſenſe, appears, in part, from what has been already ſaid of their *firſt and chief principle;* reſpecting ſome particular branches I ſhall further mention from *W. Penn:*

Their loving one another.

Firſt, "*Communion*, and *loving one another.* This is a noted mark, (ſays W. P.) in the mouth of all ſorts of people, concerning them: *they will meet, they will help and ſtick to one another*, whence it is common to hear ſome ſay, *look how the Quakers love* and *take care of one another.* Others leſs moderate, will ſay, *the Quakers love none but themſelves.* And if *loving one another*, and *having an intimate communion*, in religion, and conſtant care to meet to worſhip God, and help one another, be any mark of *primitive chriſtianity*, they had it, bleſſed be the Lord, in an ample manner."

They did not go to law one with another.

Their entire diſuſe of *going to law* one with another was a ſingular inſtance of their high ſenſe, and ſteady and uniform practice of *chriſtian love and charity:*—"To go to law one with another, (ſaith one of their writers) as it was among the *primitive Chriſtians*, is deemed an utter fault, and breach of fellowſhip with them; and commencing, or defending ſuits at law, in any caſe, without urgent neceſſity, is forbidden:"—Their differences, and diſputes, one with another, about their temporal affairs, when they happened, which was but ſeldom, being generally compoſed and ſettled by arbitrators, or perſons choſen, for that purpoſe, by the parties, among themſelves, without going to law."*

Their loving enemies

Secondly, "*To love enemies*, (continues *W. Penn*) this they both *taught and practiſed.* For they did not

* See R. Barclay's anarchy of the Ranters, &c. on this head.

not only *refuſe* to be *revenged* for injuries done them, and condemned it, as of an unchriſtian ſpirit, but they did *freely forgive*, yea, *help and relieve* thoſe, that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them: of which many and ſingular inſtances might be given: endeavouring through faith and patience, to overcome all injuſtice and oppoſition; and preaching this *doctrine*, as *Chriſtians*, for others to follow."

They did not fight but ſuffer, &c.

Thirdly, *Not fighting, but ſuffering*, is another teſtimony, peculiar to this people, in the words of *W. Penn*, *viz.* "They affirm, That *Chriſtianity* teacheth people to *beat their ſwords into plowſhares*, and *their ſpears into pruning hooks, and to learn war no more; that ſo the wolf may lie down with the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that deſtroys be entertained in the hearts of the people:* exhorting them to employ their zeal againſt *ſin*, and turn their anger againſt *Satan*, and no longer war one againſt another; becauſe *all wars and fightings* come of men's own hearts luſts, according to the apoſtle *James*, and not of the meek ſpirit of *Chriſt Jeſus;* who is captain of another *warfare;* and which is carried on with other weapons. Thus, as *truth ſpeaking* ſucceeded *ſwearing*, ſo *faith and patience* ſucceeded fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they, for this, to be obnoxious to civil government; ſince if they cannot *fight for it*, neither can they *fight againſt it;* which is no mean ſecurity to any ſtate: nor is it reaſonable that people ſhould be blamed for not doing more for others, than they can do for themſelves. And, Chriſtianity ſet aſide, if the coſts and fruits of war were well conſidered, peace, with all its inconveniencies, is generally preferable. And though they were not for *fighting*, they were for *ſubmitting* to government; and that not only for *fear*, but for *conſcience ſake*, where government doth not interfere with conſcience; believing it to be an ordi-

nance

nance of God, and where it is juſtly adminiſtered, a great benefit to mankind.* Though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in ſome, and intereſt in others, to have *felt* the *ſtrokes* of it with a greater weight and rigour, than any other *perſuaſion*, in this age; while they, of all others, religion ſet aſide, have given the civil magiſtrate the leaſt occaſion of trouble, in the diſcharge of his office."

Concerning this point it may be further obſerved from *R. Barclay*, *viz.*—" For it is as eaſy to obſcure the ſun, at mid-day, as to deny that the primitive Chriſtians renounced all revenge and fighting, and although this thing be ſo much known, yet it is as well known, that almoſt all the modern ſects live in the neglect and contempt of this law of Chriſt, and likewiſe oppreſs others, who in this agree not with them, for conſcience ſake towards God: even, as we have ſuffered much in this our own country, becauſe we could neither ourſelves bear arms, nor ſend others in our places, nor give our money for the buying of drums, ſtandards, and other military attire. And laſtly, becauſe we could not hold our doors, windows and ſhops cloſe, for conſcience ſake, upon ſuch days as faſts and prayers were appointed, to deſire a bleſſing upon, and ſucceſs for, the arms of the kingdom, or commonwealth, under which we live; neither give thanks for the victories acquired by the effuſion of much blood. By which forcing of the conſcience they would have conſtrained our brethren, living in divers kingdoms at war together, to have implored our God for contrary and contradictory things, and conſequently impoſſible; for it is impoſſible that two parties

* It is obſervable, that though they abſolutely declined all military ſervice, not only in their perſons, but alſo in their refuſing to procure ſubſtitutes, or others, in their room, by hiring, or in anywiſe paying, or contributing for the perſonal ſervice of ſuch for them, in that capacity, or for any particular military purpoſe ſolely; yet in all other reſpects, they punctually and willingly paid their taxes, though of a mixed nature, that is both military and civil, for the ſupport of government, as before obſerved. Vide page 51.

parties fighting ſhould both obtain the victory. And becauſe we cannot concur with them, in this confuſion, therefore, we are ſubject to perſecution."

Fourthly, The laſt thing I ſhall mention under this *head*, is *their maintaining all their own poor, at their own expence;* or, without being chargeable to others, beſides contributing towards the ſupport of the poor of other ſocieties, equally with themſelves, in all common *poor rates* or *taxes:* inſomuch that no ſuch thing as a common beggar was permitted, or known, to be among them, of that ſociety. For, as they ſuffered none of their ſociety to be in ſo neceſſitous a condition, as others, ſo they were ſo careful in the education of their children and youth, that there were none among them, brought up without a competency of uſeful and plain learning; theſe things being annually and methodically enquired into, and ſtrictly practiſed through the whole ſociety, in every place. Thus, while, in theſe important matters, they were no ways burthenſome to others, and while they contributed to other ſocieties equally with themſelves, in paying all *poor rates* and *taxes* of every kind, they were moreover and beſides no leſs noted for moſt other acts of beneficence according to their ſtations in civil ſociety; being ever among the firſt, *in works and inſtitutions of charity*, where they lived, according to their abilities: ſo that in contributions of this nature, they were obſerved moſtly either to be among the introducers or promoters of them, or otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed for their liberal donations; and if any were in diſtreſs, they were generally known to be among the firſt to relieve them.

Their charity to the poor, &c.

As the practice of divers of theſe particulars, mentioned under the preceding heads, made them appear, at firſt, very ſingular to many in all ranks and ſocieties of people; from whom they ſuffered much

These things made the Quakers appear singular, &c.

much redicule, unmerited abuſe, and cruel perſecution, chiefly on account of divers of theſe things; and as they ſtill appear to be ſubject to ſomething of the ſame nature, though in leſs degree, in ſome places, where they are but little known, and labor under falſe repreſentations; and where ignorance and a blind zeal diſpoſe people to reject and deſpiſe moderate enquiry; or where a ſtrong attachment to old cuſtoms, however abſurd, too frequently ſlights and refuſes ſober reaſoning, on religious ſubjects, for unprofitable and acrimonious diſputes, I ſhall, therefore, cloſe this part with the following ſhort concluſions, reſpecting them, from *R. Barclay*, *viz.*

Concluſions from R. Barclay.

" But laſtly, to conclude, if to give and receive flattering titles, which are not uſed becauſe of the virtues inherent in the perſons, but are, for moſt part, beſtowed by wicked men upon ſuch as themſelves; if to bow, ſcrape and cringe to one another; if, at any time, to call one another *humble ſervant*, and that moſt frequently without any deſign of real ſervice; if this be the honor that comes from God, and not the honor, that is from below, then indeed our adverſaries may be ſaid to be believers, and we condemned, as proud and ſtubborn, in denying all theſe things.

" But if, with *Mordecai*, to refuſe to bow to proud *Hamon*, and with *Elihu*, *not to give flattering titles to men, leſt we ſhould be reproved by our Maker;* and if, according to *Peter's* example, and the *angel's* advice, to bow only to God, and not to our *fellow ſervants;* and if, to call no man *lord* nor *maſter*, except under particular relations, according to *Chriſt's* command; I ſay, if theſe things are not to be reproved, then are we not blame worthy in ſo doing.

" If to be vain and gaudy in apparel; if to paint the face and plait the hair; if to be cloathed with gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones; and, if to

to be filled with ribbands and lace, be to be cloathed in modeſt apparel; and, if theſe be the ornaments of Chriſtians; and, if that be to be humble, meek and mortified, then are our adverſaries good Chriſtians indeed, and we, proud, ſingular and conceited, in contenting ourſelves with what need and convenience calls for, and condemning what is more, as ſuperfluous; but not otherwiſe.

" If to uſe games, ſports, plays; if to card, dice and dance; if to ſing, fiddle and pipe; if to uſe ſtage plays and comedies, and to lie, counterfeit and diſſemble, be to fear always; and if that be to do all things to the glory of God; and if that be to paſs our ſojourning here in fear; and if that be to uſe the world, as if we did not uſe it; and if that be, not to faſhion ourſelves acording to our former luſts; to be not conformable to the ſpirit and vain converſation of this world; then are our adverſaries, notwithſtanding they uſe theſe things, and plead for them, very good, ſober and ſelf-denying Chriſtians, and we juſtly to be blamed, for judging them, but not otherwiſe.

" If the prophanation of the holy name of God; if to exact oaths one from another, upon every ſlight occaſion; if to call God to witneſs, in things of ſuch a nature, in which no earthly king would think himſelf lawfully and honorably to be a witneſs, be the duties of a Chriſtian man, I ſhall confeſs that our adverſaries are excellent good Chriſtians, and we wanting in our duty: but if the contrary be true, of neceſſity our obedience to God, in this thing, muſt be acceptable.

" If to revenge ourſelves, or to render injury, evil for evil, wound for wound, to take eye for eye, tooth for tooth; if to fight for outward and periſhing things; to go a warring one againſt another, with whom we never ſaw, and with whom we never had any conteſt, nor any thing to do; being

being moreover altogether ignorant of the cauſe of the war, but only that the magiſtrates of the nations foment quarrels againſt one another; the cauſes whereof are, for the moſt part, unknown to the ſoldiers, that fight, as well as upon whoſe ſide the right and wrong are; and yet to be ſo furious, and rage one againſt another, to deſtroy all, that this, or the other worſhip may be received, or be aboliſhed; if to do this, and much more of this kind, be to fulfil the law of Chriſt, then are our adverſaries, indeed, true *Chriſtians*, and we miſerable *heretics*, that ſuffer ourſelves to be ſpoiled, taken, impriſoned, beaten and evilly treated, without any reſiſtance, *placing our truſt only in God*, that he may defend us, and lead us, by the way of the *croſs*, into his kingdom: but if it be otherwiſe, we ſhall certainly receive the *reward*, which the Lord hath promiſed to thoſe, *that cleave to him*, and, in denying themſelves, *confide in him.*

" And, to ſum up all, if to uſe all theſe things, and many more, that might be inſtanced, be to *walk in the ſtrait way, that leads to life; be to take up the croſs of Chriſt; be to die with him to the luſts, and periſhing vanities of this world, and to ariſe with him in newneſs of life, and to ſit down with him in the heavenly places*, then our adverſaries may be accounted ſuch, and they need not fear, they are in the *broad way which leads to deſtruction;* and we are greatly miſtaken, that have laid aſide all theſe things for Chriſt's ſake, to the crucifying of our own luſts, and to the procuring to ourſelves ſhame, reproach, hatred and ill-will, from the men of this world: not as if, by ſo doing, we judged to merit heaven, but, as knowing they are contrary to the will of him, who redeems his children from the love of this world, and its luſts, and leads them in the ways of *truth* and *holineſs*, in which they take delight to walk."

Of their marriages, births and burials, from W. Penn.

" Their way of marriage is peculiar to them; and ſhews a diſtinguiſhing care, above other ſocieties, profeſſing *chriſtianity*. They ſay that marriage is an *ordinance of God;* and that *God* only can rightly join man and woman in marriage. Therefore, they uſe neither *prieſt* nor *magiſtrate;* but the man and woman concerned take each other as huſband and wife, in the preſence of divers credible witneſſes, *promiſing to each other, with God's aſſiſtance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death ſhall ſeparate them.* But antecedent to this they firſt preſent themſelves to the *monthly meeting*, for the affairs of the church, where they reſide; there declaring their intentions to take one another, as *huſband and wife*, if the ſaid meeting have nothing material to object againſt it—they are conſtantly aſked the neceſſary queſtions, as, in caſe of *parents* or *guardians*, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their conſent, &c.—The method of the meeting is, to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper perſons, to enquire of their converſation and clearneſs from all others, and whether they have diſcharged their duty to their parents, or guardians; and to make report thereof to the next *monthly meeting*, where the ſame parties are deſired to give their attendance. In caſe it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting paſſes their propoſal, and ſo records it in the *meeting book*. And in caſe the woman be a widow, and hath children, due care is there taken, that proviſion alſo be made by her for the *orphans*, before the meeting paſs the propoſals of marriage; adviſing the parties concerned, to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and ſuch friends and neighbours as they deſire ſhould be witneſſes of the marriage; where they take one another by the hand, and, by name, promiſe reciprocally, love and fidelity, after

Of their marriages, &c.

the manner before expreſſed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative, in way of certificate, is made; to which the ſaid parties ſet their hands, thereby confirming it as their act and deed; and then divers relations, ſpectators and auditors, ſet their names, as witneſſes of what they ſaid and ſigned. And this certificate is afterwards regiſtered in the record belonging to the meeting, where the marriage is ſolemnized, which regular method has been, as it deſerves, adjudged in courts of law a *good marriage*, where it has been, by croſs and ill people, diſputed and conteſted, for want of the accuſtomed formalites of *prieſt* and *ring*, *&c.* ceremonies they have refuſed; not out of humour, but conſcience reaſonably grounded, in as much as no ſcripture example tells us, that the prieſt had any other part, of old time, than that of a witneſs, among the reſt, before whom the Jews uſed to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it, as an impoſition, to advance the power and profits of the clergy: and for the uſe of the *ring*, it is enough to ſay, that it was an *heatheniſh* and *vain* cuſtom, and never in practice among the people of God—Jews, or primitive Chriſtians;—the words of the uſual form, as, *with my body I thee worſhip*, *&c.* are hardly defenſible. In ſhort, they are more careful, exact and regular, than any form now uſed; their care and checks being ſo many, and ſuch as no *clandeſtine marriages* can be performed among them."

Their births.

"It may not be unfit here to ſay ſomething of their *births* and *burials*, which make up ſo much of the pomp of too many called *Chriſtians*. For *births*, the parents name their own children; which is uſually ſome days after they are born, in the preſence of the *midwife*, if ſhe can be there, and thoſe that were at the *birth;* who afterwards ſign a certificate for that purpoſe prepared, of the birth and name of the child, or children; which is recorded

corded in a proper book, in the *monthly meeting*, to which the parents belong; avoiding the accuſtomed ceremonies and feſtivals."

"Their *burials* are performed with the ſame ſimplicity. If the body of the deceaſed be near any public meeting place, it is uſually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of thoſe, that accompany it to the burying-ground. And it ſo falls out ſometimes, that while the meeting is gathering, for the burial, ſome or other has a word of exhortation, for the ſake of the people there met together. After which the body is borne away by young men, or elſe by thoſe, that are of the neighbourhood, or thoſe that were moſt of the intimacy of the deceaſed party; the corpſe being in a *plain coffin, without any covering or furniture* upon it. At the ground they pauſe ſome time before they put the body into the grave; that, if any there ſhould have any thing upon them, to exhort the people, they may not be diſappointed; and that the relations may the more retiredly and ſolemnly take their laſt leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the ſpectators have a ſenſe of mortality, by the occaſion then given them, to reflect upon their own latter end: otherwiſe they have no ſet rites, or ceremonies, on thoſe occaſions. Neither do the kindred of the deceaſed ever wear *mourning;* they looking upon it, as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a Chriſtian to have, at the departure of a beloved relation, or friend, ſhould be worn in the mind, which is only ſenſible of the loſs: and the love they had to them, and the remembrance of them, to be outwardly expreſſed by a reſpect to their advice, and care of thoſe they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved, which conduct of theirs, though unmodiſh or unfaſhionable leaves nothing of the ſubſtance of things neglected, or undone:" Their burials.

undone: and as they aim at no more, ſo that ſimplicity of life is what they obſerve with great ſatisfaction, though it ſometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in."

Theſe things not from affectation of ſingularity, &c. but a ſenſe of duty, &c.

"Theſe things, to be ſure (continues *W. Penn*) gave them a rough and diſagreeable appearance with the generality: who thought *them turners of the world upſide down;* as, indeed, in ſome ſenſe they were; but in no other than that, wherein *Paul* was ſo charged, *viz. to bring things back into their primitive and right order again.* For theſe, and ſuch like practices of theirs, were not the reſult of *humour*, or for *civil diſtinctions*, as ſome have fancied, but a fruit of *inward ſenſe*, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not conſider how to contradict the world, or diſtinguiſh themſelves, as a party from others; it being none of their buſineſs, as it was not their intereſt: no, it was not the reſult of conſultation, or a framed deſign, by which to declare, or recommend *ſchiſm* or *novelty*. But, God having given them a ſight of themſelves, they ſaw the whole world in the *ſame glaſs of truth;* and ſenſibly diſcerned the affections and paſſions of men, and the riſe and tendency of things; what it was that gratified *the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eye, and the pride of life;* which are not of the father, but of the world. And from thence ſprung, in the night of darkneſs, and the apoſtacy, which hath been over people, through their degeneration from the light and ſpirit of God, theſe, and many other vain cuſtoms, which are ſeen by the *heavenly day of Chriſt, that dawns in the ſoul*, to be either wrong in their *original*, or by time and abuſe, hurtful in their *practice:* and though theſe things ſeemed trivial to ſome, and rendered theſe people ſtingy and conceited, in ſuch perſons opinions, there was, and is, more in them, than they were, or are, aware of."

"It

" It was not very eaſy, to our *primitive friends*, to make themſelves *ſights* and *ſpectacles*, and the *ſcorn* and *deriſion* of the world; which they eaſily foreſaw muſt be the conſequence of ſo unfaſhionable a converſation in it. But here was the wiſdom of God ſeen, in the fooliſhneſs of theſe things; firſt, that they diſcovered the *ſatisfaction* and *concern*, that people had in, and for, the faſhions of this world, notwithſtanding their high pretences to another; the greateſt *honeſty*, *virtue*, *wiſdom and ability* were *unwelcome* without them. Secondly, It *ſeaſonably* and *profitably divided converſation*; for this, making their ſociety uneaſy to their relations and acquaintance, gave them the opportunity of more *retirement* and *ſolitude*; wherein they met with better company, even, the *Lord God, their Redeemer*; and grew ſtrong in his love, power and wiſdom; and were thereby better qualified for his ſervice. And the ſucceſs abundantly ſhewed it: *Bleſſed be the name of the Lord.*"

" And though they were not great and learned in the eſteem of the world, (for then they had not wanted followers, upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the moſt *ſober* of the ſeveral perſuaſions, they were in, and of the *moſt repute*, for religion; and many of them of good *capacity*, *ſubſtance* and *account* among men."

" And alſo ſome among them wanted not for *parts*, *learning* or *eſtate;* though then, as of old, not many *wiſe* or *noble*, &c. *were called;* or, at leaſt, received the *heavenly call;* becauſe of the croſs, that attended the profeſſion of it, in ſincerity. But neither do parts or learning make men the better *Chriſtians*, though the better *orators* and *diſputants* and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that cauſes that vulgar and miſchievous miſtake. *Theory* and *practice*, *ſpeculation* and *enjoyment*, *words* and *life*, are two things."

Of

Of their church diſcipline, from the ſame author, W. Penn.

Of their diſcipline, &c. In the next place, in order to form ſome idea of the religious care, diſcipline, and practice, which they uſed as a Chriſtian and reformed ſociety, alſo in a collective capacity, that they might live orderly and conſiſtent with their principles and profeſſion, the following extract, from *W. Penn*, exhibits the *church power*, which they owned and exerciſed, and that which they rejected and condemned, with the method of their proceedings againſt erring and diſorderly perſons, of their community, *viz.*

" This people encreaſing daily both in town and country, an *holy care* fell upon ſome of the *elders* among them, for the benefit and ſervice of the church. And the firſt buſineſs, in their view, after the example of the primitive ſaints, was the exerciſe of *charity;* to ſupply the neceſſities of the poor, and anſwer the like occaſions. Wherefore *collections* were early and liberally made for that, and divers other ſervices, in the church, and intruſted with faithful men, fearing *God*, and of good report, who where not weary in *well doing;* adding often of *their own*, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or deſired ſhould be known, much leſs reſtored to them, that none might want, nor any ſervice be retarded, or diſappointed."

" They were alſo very careful, that every one, who belonged to them, anſwered their profeſſion, in their behaviour among men, upon all occaſions; that they lived *peaceably*, and were, in all things, *good examples*. They found themſelves engaged to record their *ſufferings* and *ſervices;* and in the caſe of *marriage*, which they could not perform in the uſual methods of the nation, but among themſelves; they took care that all things were *clear* between the parties, and all others, and it

was

was then rare, that any one entertained an inclination to a perſon, on that account, till he, or ſhe, had communicated it ſecretly to ſome very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a ſenſe of the matter; looking to the counſel and unity of their brethren, as of great moment to them. But becauſe the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, ſufferings and other matters, *multiplied;* and that it was good, that the churches were in ſome way and method of proceeding in ſuch affairs, among them, to the end they might the better correſpond, upon occaſion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleaſed the *Lord*, in his wiſdom and goodneſs, to open the underſtanding of the *firſt inſtrument of this diſpenſation of life*, *George Fox*, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt a holy concern to viſit the churches, in perſon, throughout this nation, to begin and eſtabliſh it among them: and by his *epiſtles*, the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad; which he alſo afterwards viſited and helped in that ſervice."

G. Fox, the firſt inſtrument, &c.

"Now the care, conduct and diſcipline I have been ſpeaking of, and which are now* practiſed among this people, are as follow:

"This *godly elder*, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that ſome out of every meeting of worſhip, ſhould meet together, once in the month, to confer about the wants and occaſions of the church. And as the caſe required, ſo thoſe *monthly meetings* were fewer, or more in number, in every reſpective county; four or ſix meetings of worſhip uſually making one *monthly meeting of buſineſs*. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the ſaid meetings, *viz.* for the *poor*, *orphans*, *orderly walking*, *integrity to their profeſſion*, *births*, *marriages*, *burials*, *ſufferings*, &c. And theſe *monthly meetings* ſhould

* Written in 1694.

ſhould, in each county make up one *quarterly meeting* (held once every quarter of a year) where the moſt zealous and eminent friends of the county ſhould *aſſemble*, to *communicate advice*, and *help one another*, eſpecially when any buſineſs ſeemed difficult, or a *monthly meeting* was tender of determining a matter."

"Alſo that theſe ſeveral *quarterly meetings* ſhould digeſt the reports of their *monthly meetings*, and prepare one for each reſpective county, once a year, againſt the *yearly meeting*, in which all *quarterly meetings* reſolve; which is held in *London:* where the churches, in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet, by *choſen members* of their reſpective counties, both mutually to communicate their *church affairs*, and to adviſe and be adviſed, in any depending caſe, to edification. Alſo to provide a *requiſite ſtock*, for the diſcharge of general expences, for general ſervices, in the church not needful here to be particularized."

"At theſe meetings any of the members of the churches may come, if they pleaſe, and ſpeak their minds freely, in the fear of *God*, to the matter; but the mind of each *quarterly meeting* therein repreſented, is chiefly underſtood, as to particular caſes, in the ſenſe delivered by the perſons deputed or choſen, for that ſervice by the ſaid meeting."

Of their diſcipline, &c.

"During their *yearly meeting*, to which their other meetings refer, in their order, and naturally reſolve themſelves, care is taken by a *ſelect number* for that ſervice, choſen by the general aſſembly, to draw up the *minutes* of the ſaid meeting, upon the ſeveral matters, that have been under conſideration therein, to the end that the reſpective *quarterly* and *monthly meetings* may be informed of all proceedings; together with a general exhortation to *holineſs*, *unity* and *charity*. Of all which proceedings, in *yearly*, *monthly* and *quarterly* meetings, due record is kept by ſome one appointed

pointed for that ſervice, or, that hath voluntarily undertaken it. Theſe meetings are opened, and uſually concluded, in their ſolemn waiting upon *God;* who is ſometimes graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer them with as *ſignal evidences* of his love and preſence, as in any of their meetings of worſhip."

"It is further to be noted, that, in theſe *ſolemn aſſemblies*, for the churches ſervice, there is no one preſides among them, after the manner of the aſſemblies of other people; *Chriſt* only being their *preſident*, as *he* is pleaſed to appear in life and wiſdom, in any one, or more of them, to whom, whatever be their capacity, or degree, the reſt adhere with a firm unity, not of *authority*, but *conviction;* which is the divine authority and way of Chriſt's power and ſpirit in his people; making good his bleſſed promiſe, *that he would be in the midſt of his, where and whenever they were met together, in his name, even, to the end of the world.* So be it."

Of their church power and authority.

"Now, it may be expected, I ſhould here ſet down what ſort of *authority* is exerciſed by this people, upon ſuch members of their ſociety as correſpond not, in their *lives*, with their *profeſſion*, and that are *refractory* to this good and wholeſome order, ſettled among them; and the rather, becauſe they have not wanted their reproach and ſufferings from ſome tongues and pens, upon this occaſion, in a plentiful manner.

"The power, they exerciſe, is ſuch as *Chriſt* has given to his own people, to the end of the world, in the perſons of his diſciples, *viz. to overſee, exhort, reprove, and, after long ſuffering and waiting upon the diſobedient and refractory, to diſown them*, as any more of their *communion*, or, that they will any longer ſtand charged, in the ſight and judgment of *God* or *men*, with their converſation, or behaviour, as any of them, until they *repent.* The ſubject matter about which this authority, in

any of the foregoing branches of it, is exerciſed, is firſt, in relation to *common* or *general practice.* And, ſecondly, about thoſe things, that more ſtrictly refer to their own *character* and *profeſſion*, and which diſtinguiſhes them from all other profeſſors of *Chriſtianity;* avoiding two extremes, upon which many ſplit, *viz. perſecution* and *libertiniſm;* that is a coercive power, *to whip people into the temple;* that ſuch as will not conform, though againſt faith and conſcience, ſhall be puniſhed, in their *perſons* and *eſtates:* or, leaving all looſe, and at large, as to *practice;* and ſo unaccountable to all but *God* and the *magiſtrate.* To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed, than the abuſe of *church power*, by ſuch as ſuffer their paſſion, and private intereſt to prevail with them, to carry it to outward force, and corporal puniſhment. A practice, they have been taught to diſlike, by their extreme ſufferings, as well as their known principle for an *univerſal liberty of conſcience.*"

"On the other hand, they equally diſlike an *independency*, in ſociety, an *unaccountableneſs* in *practice* and *converſation*, to the *rules* and *terms* of their own communion, and to thoſe, that are the members of it. They diſtinguiſh between impoſing any practice, that immediately regards *faith* or *worſhip* (which is never to be done, or ſuffered, or ſubmitted to) and requiring Chriſtian compliance with thoſe methods, that only reſpect church buſineſs, in its more civil part and concern; and that regard the *diſcreet and orderly maintenance* of the character of the ſociety, as a ſober and religious community. In ſhort, what is for the promotion of *holineſs* and *charity*, that men may practiſe what they profeſs, live up to their *own principles*, and not be at liberty to give the *lye* to their own profeſſion, without *rebuke*, is their uſe and limit of church power. They compel none to them; but oblige

oblige thoſe that are of them, to *walk ſuitably*, or they are denied by them: that is all the *mark*, they ſet upon them, and the power they exerciſe, or judge a Chriſtian ſociety can exerciſe upon thoſe that are members of it."

"The way of their proceeding againſt ſuch as have lapſed or tranſgreſſed, is this: He is viſited by ſome of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice againſt known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular teſtimony, which he, in common, profeſſeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal, for the *good of his ſoul*, the *honor of God*, and *reputation* of their profeſſion, to own his fault, and condemn it, in as ample a manner, as the evil, or ſcandal was given by him; which, for the moſt part, is performed by ſome *written teſtimony*, under the party's hand; and if it ſo happen, that the party prove *refractory* and is not willing to clear the *truth*, they profeſs, from the reproach of his, or her, evil doing, or unfaithfulneſs, they, after repeated entreaties, and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to diſown ſuch a fact, and the party offending: recording the ſame, as a teſtimony of their care for the honor of the truth, they profeſs."

"And if he, or ſhe, ſhall clear the *profeſſion*, and *themſelves*, by ſincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly ſorrow for ſo doing, they are *received*, and *looked upon again as members of their communion*. For, as *God*, ſo his true people *upbraid no man* after repentance."

Their conſiſtency in conduct with their profeſſion, &c.

That the general conduct and practice of this people have been, in a remarkable manner, conſiſtent with their profeſſion, we are well aſſured, not only by the accounts given by themſelves, but alſo by thoſe of others, who appear to have been beſt acquainted with their manner of life, in early time;

time; and whoſe certain knowledge enabled them to ſpeak with that moderation, which is diveſted of paſſion and prejudice; beſides, it is manifeſt from the many acrimonious and abuſive writings of their enemies themſelves againſt them, yet extant, that their conformity to the principles and cuſtoms before mentioned, was the chief cauſe of the ſevere *perſecution* and *ſuffering;* which they ſo long endured:—for which, if any inſtances of intemperate zeal, in early time, appeared in any individuals among them, (from which, probably, the firſt riſe of no religious ſociety has been entirely free) it ſeems to have been too much the delight of their adverſaries to exaggerate and miſrepreſent them.—For, as they profeſſed no theory, but what they chiefly derived from practice or conviction; nor ſpeculation, but what they principally had from experiment, ſo it has been long obſerved, particularly in *Great Britain*, that, as any of the members of this ſociety failed in the practical part, they conſequently, for the moſt part, diſcontinued the profeſſion, in proportion; and either went over to ſuch other religious ſocieties, as place leſs ſtreſs on the practice of *Chriſtianity*, or of true religion; or elſe they made no formal profeſſion of it at all, with any particular ſet of people: ſome apparently from an irreligious, mean and indolent, or depraved turn of mind; and others, probably, from looking upon all forms of religion, as *vain;* and that the knowledge of truth, and the interior of religion, or the intercourſe between the creature and the Creator, depends not upon, nor is neceſſarily connected with, any fixed form; but is rather obſcured, or impeded, by that attention, which ſuch forms, in general require; or which ultimately have ſo much tendency to engroſs the minds of many people with that ſlaviſh formality, which is obſervable to terminate in mere religious ſuperſtition.

Nevertheleſs

Nevertheleſs it is well known, that in later times, divers among them have been obſerved, under the covering of a plain garb, and a formal compliance to ſundry of theſe external cuſtoms, before mentioned, to make this profeſſion an engine to accumulate wealth, and from an apparent zeal for their profeſſion, in divers of thoſe very things, without the poſſeſſion of the real life, or ſubſtance, of it, have notwithſtanding continued among them, and uſed that credit and reputation, which the ſociety, in general, had acquired by a better principle, ſo as to obtain low, terreſtrial enjoyments, and worldly advantages, even, beyond others of the ſame degree, or rank of people. For it cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed that every perſon who is born and educated, or brought up, merely in the form, is therefore conſequently experienced in every practical truth of the profeſſion, ſo much as thoſe, who have embraced the ſame from real conviction and experience, in their own minds, unleſs they poſſeſs the ſame experience and enjoyment; which may, or may not be the caſe; for profeſſion, or implicit belief, alone, cannot give a lively experience, nor a bare aſſent, convince the judgment.

But the Chriſtian care of this ſociety, as appears by their diſcipline, already mentioned, as well as by the many additions, ſince made by them, to this part of their religious œconomy, has not been ſmall, to prevent and redreſs this evil, as well as to remedy all other deviations from the truth of their profeſſion, and the primitive practice among them; which, in ſome or other of their members, cannot but ſometimes happen, while in this frail and mortal ſtate of exiſtence:—Yet the reſult of this very care, ſo far, at leaſt, as it reſpects the external obligations, upon the members of this ſociety, and the many rules increaſed from time to time, among them, for that purpoſe, it is thought by ſome, has had this certain

tain and inevitable tendency, to render it, in fact, more *formal*, and to diſtinguiſh it more, in reality, as a *ſect*, than ſome of its firſt, or early principal founders, by their writings, appear to have intended; who would not admit of that name, nor the natural contractedneſs of ſuch a diſtinction, particularly R. Barclay, and others among them.

See R. Barclay on univerſal love, &c.

I ſhall, therefore, after having, in a few words, further expreſſed reſpecting them, in early time, from two perſons of eminence in their religious ſociety, *W. Penn* and *W. Edmundſon*, conclude this account. The former, addreſſing himſelf to them, ſpeaks thus, *viz.*

W. Penn's account of the religious lives of the primitive Quakers.

"The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope, that has not made us aſhamed ſince we were a people,"—"is that bleſſed principle of light and life of *Chriſt*, which we profeſs, and direct all people to, as the *great and divine inſtrument* and agent of man's converſion to God. It was by this, that we were firſt touched, and effectually enlightened, as to our inward ſtate; which put us upon the conſideration of our latter end, cauſing us to ſet the *Lord* before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wiſdom. In that day we judged not after the ſight of the *eye*, or after the hearing of the *ear*, but according to the *light* and *ſenſe* this bleſſed principle gave us, ſo we judged and acted, in reference to things and perſons, ourſelves and others; yea towards *God*, our Maker: for, being quickened by it in our *inward man*, we could eaſily diſcern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what was not, both in reference to religion and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowſhip of all ſaints; it was in that our fellowſhip ſtood. In this we deſired to have a ſenſe of one another, acted towards one another, and all men, *in love, faithfulneſs and fear.*"

"In

"In feeling of the ſtirrings and motions of this principle in our hearts, we drew near to the *Lord*, and waited to be prepared by it; that we might *feel drawings* and *movings*, before we approached the *Lord* in prayer, or opened our mouths in miniſtry. And in our beginning and ending with this, ſtood our *comfort*, *ſervice* and *edification*. And, as we ran faſter, or fell ſhort, in our ſervices, we made burdens for ourſelves to bear; finding in ourſelves a rebuke, inſtead of an acceptance; and in lieu of *well done*, "*Who has required this at your hands?*" In that day we were an exerciſed people; our very countenances and deportment declared it."

"Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourſelves; eſpecially of the *young convinced*. Oft had we the burden of the word of the *Lord* to our *neighbours*, *relations* and *acquaintance;* and ſometimes ſtrangers alſo. We were in travail likewiſe for one another's preſervation; not ſeeking, but ſhunning occaſions of any coldneſs, or miſunderſtanding; treating one another as thoſe that believed and felt *God preſent*. which kept our converſation *innocent*, *ſerious* and *weighty;* guarding ourſelves againſt the cares and friendſhips of this world. We held the truth in the ſpirit of it, and not in our own ſpirits, or after our own wills and affections, they were bowed and brought into ſubjection, inſomuch that it was viſible to them, that knew us. We did not think ourſelves at our own *diſpoſal*, to go where we liſt, or ſay, or do, what we liſt, or when we liſt. Our liberty ſtood in the liberty of truth; and no *pleaſure*, no *profit*, no *fear*, no *favour*, could draw us from this retired, ſtrict and watchful frame. We were as far from ſeeking occaſions of company, that we avoided them what we could, purſuing our own buſineſs with moderation, inſtead of meddling with other people's *unneceſſarily*."

"Our words were few and ſavory, our looks compoſed and weighty, and our whole deportment very

very obſervable. True it is, that this retired and ſtrict ſort of life from the liberty of the converſation of the world, expoſed us to the cenſures of many, as *humoriſts*, *conceited*, and *ſelfrighteous* perſons, &c. but it was our preſervation from many ſnares, to which others were continually expoſed, by the prevalency of the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occaſions, or temptations to excite them abroad, in the converſe of the world."

W. Edmundſon's account of the religious lives of the primitive Quakers.

The words of *W. Edmundſon*, on this head, are theſe,—" At the firſt, when the Lord called and gathered us to be a people, and opened the eyes of our underſtandings, then we ſaw the exceeding ſinfulneſs of ſin, and the wickedneſs that was in the world; and a perfect abhorrence was fixed, in our hearts, againſt all the wicked, unjuſt, vain, ungodly, unlawful part of the world, in all reſpects; and we ſaw the goodly, and moſt glorious *lawful things* of this world to be abuſed; and that many ſnares and temptations lay in them; and many troubles and dangers of divers kinds; and we felt the load of them, and that we could not carry them, and run the race, the Lord had ſet before us, ſo cheerfully as to win the prize of ſalvation; ſo that our care was to caſt off this great load and burden of our great and gainful way of getting riches, and to leſſen our concerns therein, to the compaſs that we might not be chargeable to any, in our ſtations and ſervices required of us, and be ready to anſwer Chriſt Jeſus, our Captain, that called us to follow him, in a ſpiritual warfare, under the diſcipline of his daily croſs and ſelf-denial; and then the things of this world were of ſmall value with us, ſo that we might win Chriſt; and the goodlieſt things of the world were not near us, ſo that we might be near the Lord; and the Lord's truth outbalanced all the world, even the moſt glorious part of it. Then great trading was a burden, and

great

great concerns a great trouble; all needleſs things, fine houſes, rich furniture, gaudy apparel, were an eye-ſore; our eye being ſingle to the Lord, and the inſhining of his light, in our hearts; which gave us the ſight of the knowledge of the glory of God; which ſo affected our minds, that it ſtained the glory of all earthly things; and they bore no maſtry with us, either in dwelling, eating, drinking, buying, ſelling, marrying, or giving in marriage. The Lord was the object of our eye; and we all humble and low before him, and ſelf of ſmall repute; miniſters and elders, in all ſuch caſes, walking as good examples, that the flock might follow their foot-ſteps, as they followed Chriſt; in the daily croſs of ſelf-denial, in their dwellings, callings, eating, drinking, buying, ſelling, marrying, and giving in marriage; and this anſwered the *Lord's* witneſs in all conſciences, and gave us great credit among men."

Such appear to have been the people called *Quakers*, as to their firſt riſe, principles, doctrines, religious ſyſtem, and general practice, or manners, in early time; with whom *W. Penn* joined in ſociety; ſuch they appear to have been, who principally firſt ſettled *Weſt Jerſey* and *Pennſylvania*:—By a conduct influenced chiefly by the principles above mentioned has this country providentially advanced to that juſtly admired and happy ſtate, and importance, for which, it has now long been growing more and more conſpicuous:—Of this people as a religious ſociety, I ſhall, at preſent take my leave, till I again reviſit them, as tranſplanted from *Europe*, into theſe provinces, and obſerve their proceedings, in their new and political ſituation; in the mean time, I return to, and reſume, my intermitted account of the life of *W. Penn.*

About this time (1668, and the twenty-fourth year of his age) *William Penn* publiſhed ſeveral of his firſt pieces, now extant in his printed works;

1668. W. Penn's firſt writings, &c.

one of which, entitled, "*The ſandy foundation ſhaken,*" was written in conſequence of a diſpute, which he had in *London* with one *Vincent*, a Preſbyter. In this he expoſed the vulgar notion of the *Trinity*, and ſome other religious tenets; which gave ſo much offence to thoſe then at the helm of the church, that they immediately took the old method of reforming what they called error, by their ſtrongeſt argument, *viz.* "*An order for impriſoning him in the tower of London;*"—there he was under cloſe confinement, and even denied the viſits of his friends: but yet his enemies attained not their purpoſe; for when, after ſome time, his ſervant brought him word, that the biſhop of *London* was reſolved he ſhould either publicly recant, or die a priſoner, he made this reply: "All is well: I wiſh they had told me ſo before; ſince the expecting a releaſe put a ſtop to ſome buſineſs: thou mayſt tell my father, who, I know, will aſk thee theſe words; that my priſon ſhall be my grave, before I will budge a jot; for I owe my conſcience to no mortal man. I have no need to fear; God will make amends for all. They are miſtaken in me; I value not their threats and reſolutions: for they ſhall know I can weary out their malice and peeviſhneſs; and in me ſhall they all behold a reſolution above fear; conſcience above cruelty; and a baffle put upon all their deſigns, by the ſpirit of patience, the companion of all the tribulated flock of the bleſſed *Jeſus*, who is the author and finiſher of the faith, that overcomes the world, yea, death and hell too. Neither great nor good things were ever attained without loſs and hardſhips. He that would reap and not labor muſt faint with the wind, and periſh in diſappointments: but an hair of my head ſhall not fall without the providence of my Father, that is over all."

His impriſonment in the tower of London.

His reſolution.

"A ſpirit warmed with the love of God" (ſays the writer of his life) "and devoted to his ſervice, ever

ever purſues its main purpoſe: he, being now reſtrained from preaching, applied himſelf to writing; ſeveral treatiſes were the fruits of his ſolitude, particularly, that excellent one, entitled, *No croſs, no crown;* a book, which, tending to promote the general deſign of religion, was well accepted, and ſoon paſt ſeveral impreſſions." He writes ſeveral treatiſes in the tower.

He alſo, in the year 1669, writ, from the tower, a letter to the lord *Arlington*, then principal ſecretary of ſtate, by whoſe warrant he was committed, in vindication of his innocence, and to remove ſome aſperſions caſt upon him; in this letter, with chriſtian boldneſs, and elegance of ſtile, he pleads the reaſonableneſs of toleration in religion, ſhews the ſingular injuſtice of his impriſonment, and declares his firm reſolution to ſuffer, rather than give up his cauſe; he likewiſe requeſts the ſecretary to lay his caſe before the king, and deſires he may be ordered a releaſe; but, if that ſhould be denied, he intreats the favour of acceſs to the royal preſence, or at leaſt, that the ſecretary himſelf would pleaſe to give him a full hearing, &c. And in order to clear himſelf from the aſperſions, caſt on him, in relation to the *doctrines of the Trinity*, the *incarnation*, and *ſatisfaction of Chriſt*, he publiſhed a little book called, "*Innocency with her open face*," by way of apology for the aforeſaid, *Sandy foundation ſhaken:* in this apology he ſo ſucceſsfully vindicated himſelf, that ſoon after the publication thereof, he was diſcharged from his impriſonment; which had been of about ſeven months continuance. 1669. He writes to the lord Arlington, &c. He is diſcharged.

In the latter part of the ſummer this year, he went again to *Ireland*. Being arrived at *Cork*, he there viſited his friends the *Quakers*, who were in priſon, for their religion, attended the meetings of his ſociety, and afterwards went from thence to *Dublin;* where an account of his friends ſufferings being He goes to Ireland.

being drawn up, by way of addreſs, it was by him preſented to the lord lieutenant.

His buſineſs there.

During his ſtay in *Ireland*, though his buſineſs, in the care of his father's eſtate, took up a conſiderable part of his time, yet he frequently attended, and preached in the meetings of his friends, eſpecially at *Dublin* and *Cork;* in one of which places he uſually reſided. He alſo wrote, during his reſidence there, ſeveral treatiſes, and took every opportunity in his power, to ſollicit thoſe in authority, in behalf of his friends in priſon: and, in the beginning of the fourth month, 1670, through his repeated applications to the chancellor, the lord *Arran*, and the lord lieutenant, an order of council was obtained for their releaſe. Having ſettled his father's concerns to ſatisfaction, and done his friends, the *Quakers*, many ſignal ſervices, he ſhortly after returned to *England*.

1670.

1670.

In the year 1670 was paſſed the *conventicle act*, which prohibited the meetings of the diſſenters, under ſevere penalties. The rigour of this law was immediately executed upon the *Quakers;* who not being uſed to give way, in the cauſe of religion, ſtood moſt expoſed. They being kept out of their meeting houſe, in *Grace-church* ſtreet in *London*, by force, met in the ſtreet itſelf, as near it as they could: *W. Penn*, preaching here, was apprehended, and by warrant, dated Auguſt fourteenth, 1670, from Sir *Samuel Starling*, the lord *mayor*, committed to *Newgate;* and, at the next ſeſſions, at the *Old Bailey*, was, together with *William Mead*, indicted for being preſent at, and preaching to, an unlawful, ſeditious and riotous aſſembly. At his trial he made ſuch an excellent defence, as diſcovered at once both the free ſpirit of an *Engliſhman*, and the undaunted magnanimity of a *Chriſtian;* inſomuch that notwithſtanding the moſt partial frowns and menaces of the bench, the

He is committed to Newgate.

Famous trial of Penn and Mead.

jury

jury acquitted him. The trial itſelf was ſoon after printed; it exhibits a ſignal inſtance of the attempts of the ignorance and tyranny of that time; and may be ſeen in his printed works.

His father's reconciliation and death.

Not long after this famous trial, and his diſcharge from *Newgate*, his father died, entirely reconciled to his ſon; to whom, as before obſerved, he left both his paternal bleſſing, and a plentiful eſtate. His death-bed expreſſions, and laſt advice are very remarkable, inſtructive, and may be ſeen in *W. Penn's* treatiſe, entitled, *No croſs, no crown*, among the ſayings of other eminent perſons.

1670. He diſputes with J. Ives and viſits Oxford, &c.

He was about this time employed in defence of his religious principles, in a public diſpute with one *Jeremy Ives*, a celebrated *Baptiſt*. Afterwards in the ninth month this year, being at *Oxford*, and obſerving the cruel uſage and perſecution, which his innocent friends ſuffered there from the junior ſcholars, too much by the connivance of their ſuperiors, he wrote a letter to the vice chancellor, on the ſubject.

He publiſhes a book againſt Popery, &c.

In the winter, this year, having his reſidence at *Penn*, in *Buckinghamſhire*, he publiſhed a book, entitled, "*A reaſonable caveat againſt Popery;*" wherein he both expoſes and confutes many erroneous doctrines of the church of *Rome*, and eſtabliſhes the oppoſite truths, by ſound arguments; a work alone ſufficient, on the one hand, to wipe off the calumny, caſt upon him, of being a favourer of the *Romiſh* religion; and, on the other, to ſhew, that his principle being for an univerſal liberty of conſcience, he would have had it extended, even to the Papiſts themſelves, under a ſecurity of their not perſecuting others.

1670.

He is taken and carried to the tower, &c.

In the laſt month of this year, while he was preaching in a religious meeting of his friends, in *Wheeler-ſtreet*, *London*, he was forceably ſeized by a party of ſoldiers, ſent thither for that purpoſe, and

and brought to the *tower*, by an order from the lieutenant. In his examination, on the occaſion, before the lieutenant of the tower, Sir *John Robinſon*, *Starling*, the lord mayor, and others, his behaviour was very remarkable, ſpirited and extraordinarily adapted to the nature of the occaſion. It may be ſeen in the printed account of his life, prefixed to his literary works; in which, as the lieutenant's words and conduct appear high, imperious, and towards him manifeſtly inimical, ſo his replies were ſmart, ſenſible and bold: and, on the lieutenant's charging him with his having been as bad as other people, and that both at home and abroad, he received this remarkable anſwer from *W. Penn*, *viz.* "I make this bold challenge to all men, women and children upon earth, juſtly to accuſe me, with ever having ſeen me drunk, heard me ſwear, utter a curſe, or ſpeak one obſcene word, (much leſs that I ever made it my practice) I ſpeak this to God's glory, that has preſerved me from the power of thoſe pollutions, and that, from a child, begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, than when men are of a more ſevere life than ordinary, for looſe perſons to comfort themſelves with the conceit, *that they were once as they are*, as if there were no collateral, or oblique line of the compaſs, or globe, men may be ſaid to come from to the *Arctic pole*, but directly and immediately from the *Antarctic*. *Thy words ſhall be thy burden*, and *I trample thy ſlander*, as *dirt*, *under my feet*."

A remarkable anſwer.

He was ſent priſoner to *Newgate* for ſix months; where, during his confinement, he wrote ſeveral treatiſes, and occaſional pieces of controverſy, extant in his works; and the parliament being about to take meaſures for enforcing with greater ſeverity the aforeſaid conventicle act, he whoſe freedom of ſpirit a priſon could not confine from advocating the cauſe of liberty, wrote from the ſame place, the following paper, directed,

Sent a priſoner to Newgate, and writes to the parliament.

To

" *To the high court of Parliament.*"

1671. Application to parliament in behalf of his ſuffering friends.

" Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed you to make an *act*, entitled, " *An act for ſuppreſſing ſeditious conventicles, the dangerous practices of ſeditious ſectaries, &c.*" and that, under pretence of authority from it, many have taken the ungodly liberty of plundering, pillaging and breaking into houſes, to the ruin and detriment of whole families, not regarding the poor, the widow and the fatherleſs, beyond all precedent, or excuſe; and, that we are informed it is your purpoſe, inſtead of relaxing your hand, to ſupply the defects of that act, by ſuch explanatory clauſes as will inevitably expoſe us to the fury and intereſt of our ſeveral adverſaries; that under pretence of anſwering the intents of the ſaid act, will only gratify their private humours, and doubtleſs extend it beyond its original purpoſe, to the utter deſtruction of us, and our ſuffering friends."

" We, therefore, eſteem ourſelves obliged, in Chriſtian duty, once more to remonſtrate:"

" *Firſt*, That we own civil government, or magiſtracy, as God's ordinance, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe of them, that do well; and though we cannot comply with thoſe laws that prohibit us to worſhip God, according to our conſciences, as believing it to be his alone prerogative, to preſide in matters of faith and worſhip, yet we both own and are ready to yield obedience to every ordinance of man, relating to human affairs, and that for conſcience ſake."

" *Secondly*, That we deny and renounce, as an horrible impiety, all plots and conſpiracies, or to promote our intereſt, or religion, by the blood and deſtruction of ſuch as diſſent from us, or yet thoſe, that perſecute us."

" *Thirdly*, That in all revolutions we have demeaned ourſelves with much peace and patience (diſowning

(disowning all contrary actings) notwithstanding the numerous prosecutions of cruel and ungodly men; which is a demonstration of our harmless behaviour, that ought not to be of little moment with you."

"*Fourthly*, That as we have ever lived most peaceably under all the various governments, that have been since our first appearance, (notwithstanding we have been as their anvil, to smite upon) so we do hereby signify, that it is our fixed resolution to continue the same; that where we cannot actually obey, we patiently shall suffer, (leaving our innocent cause without daring to love ourselves unto the death, for our blessed testimony's sake) thereby manifesting to the whole world, that we love God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves."

"If this prevails not with you to suspend your thoughts of reinforcing your former act, we do desire that we, or some of our friends, may receive a free hearing from you, (as several of us had upon the first act for uniformity) having many great and weighty reasons to offer against all such severe proceedings, to the end all wrong measures of us, and of our principles, may be rectified; and, that you, being better informed of both, may remove our heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free; for such moderation will be well pleasing both to God and good men."

"From us who are prisoners, at *Newgate* (for conscience sake) on behalf of ourselves, and all our suffering friends in *England*, &c.

"*William Penn and several others.*

"*Newgate, Second month*, 1671."

He travels into Holland and Germany.

His six months imprisonment, in *Newgate*, being expired, he was set at liberty, and shortly after went into *Holland* and *Germany*. Of his business, or services, at this time, in these countries, I find no particular account, besides some small

mention

mention made thereof, by himſelf, in his journal of his ſubſequent travels afterwards into thoſe countries.

In the beginning of the year 1672, and the twenty-eighth of his age, he married *Gulielma Maria Springett*, daughter of Sir *William Springett*, formerly of *Darling* in *Suſſex;* who was killed in the time of the civil wars, at the ſiege of *Bamber;* his widow was afterwards married to *Iſaac Penington*, of *Peter's Chalfont*, in *Buckinghamſhire;* in whoſe family her ſaid daughter was brought up; a young woman, whom a virtuous diſpoſition, joined to a comely perſonage, rendered well accompliſhed. Afterwards, pitching upon a convenient habitation at *Rickmerſworth*, in *Hertfordſhire*, he reſided there with his family, often viſiting the meetings of his friends. 1672. He marries and lives in Hertfordſhire.

In the Seventh month this year, (1672) he viſited his friends in *Kent*, *Suſſex* and *Surry;* of which his memorandums furniſh us with an obſervation of that ſingular induſtry, which the free miniſters of the goſpel exerciſe, in the diſcharge of their office; for, in the ſpace of twenty-one days, he with his companion, under the like concern, were preſent at, and preached to, as many aſſemblies of people, at diſtant places, *viz. Rocheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Dover*, *Deal*, *Folkſtone*, *Aſhford*, and other places in *Kent;* at *Lewes*, *Horſham*, *Stenning*, *&c.* in *Suſſex;* and at *Charlewood* and *Rygate* in *Surry*. "Great was their ſervice, in theſe counties; (ſays the writer of his life) their teſtimonies, effectual to the ſtrengthening of their friends, ſilencing of gainſayers, and to a general edification, were received by the people with joy, and openneſs of heart; and themſelves in the performance of their duty, filled with ſpiritual conſolation." *W. Penn* gives this account of their laſt meeting, in that journey, being at *Rygate:* "The Lord ſealed up our labours and travels according to the deſire of my ſoul and ſpi- He viſits his friends in Kent, Suſſex and Surry. 1672.

rit, with his heavenly refreſhments, and ſweet living power and word of life, unto the reaching of all, and conſolating our own hearts abundantly."—He concludes his narrative with theſe words:—" And thus hath the Lord been with us, in all our travels for his truth; and with his bleſſings of peace are we returned; which is a reward beyond all worldly treaſure."

He writes on divers ſubjects, &c.

About this time many oppoſers of the *Quakers*, ſome of whom being diſſenters themſelves, who had enough to do in time of perſecution, by a *cautious privacy*, which they called *chriſtian prudence*, to ſecure their heads from the ſtorm, began, under the ſun-ſhine of the king's indulgence, to peep out, and (in the words of the writer of *W. Penn's* life) by gainſaying the truth, to make its defence neceſſary; ſo that he had plenty of controverſial exerciſe for his pen, the remainder of this year, and the two next enſuing; which produced ſeveral valuable treatiſes, extant in his works, together with divers remarkable and excellent letters and epiſtles, written both to ſingle perſons, collective bodies of men, and others, in a more general capacity, in *England*, *Holland*, *Germany* and elſewhere; which, as they are principally of a religious, and ſome of them of a political nature, may likewiſe be ſeen in his printed writings. Among theſe appears the following letter to a *Roman* catholic, *viz.*

" *My Friend,*"

A letter to a Roman catholic. 1675.

" Chriſt Jeſus did redeem a people with his moſt precious blood, and the ancient church of *Rome*, among other churches, was one; but as the ſea loſes and gets, and as proſperity changes its ſtation, ſo the *chaſtity* of the church of *Rome* is loſt; ſhe having taken in principles and diſcipline, that are not of Chriſt, neither can be found in the holy ſcriptures."

1675. " If thou wert to die, wouldeſt not thou leave a *plain will* to thy children? ſo have Chriſt and his apoſtles,

apoſtles, in the ſcriptures. Read and thou mayeſt behold the ſimplicity, purity, meekneſs, patience and ſelf-denial of thoſe Chriſtians and churches. They are Chriſt's, that take up his croſs to the glory and ſpirit of this world; which the church of *Rome* lives in. Behold the pride, luxury, cruelty, that have, for ages, been in that church, even the heads and chieftains thereof! It is a miſtake to think *that* Chriſt's church, which has loſt its heavenly qualifications, becauſe it once *was*. What is become of *Antioch*, *Jeruſalem*, *&c.* both churches of Chriſt, and before *Rome?* Nor is it number, (the Devil has that;) nor antiquity, (for he has that;) but Chriſt-likeneſs, and conformity to *Jeſus;* who hath divorced thoſe, that have adulterated; and though he had left but two or three (though there were thouſands) yet he would be in the midſt of them: and they have been in the wilderneſs, people crying in ſackcloth. The generality declined from *Chriſt's ſpirit;* and it was loſt, and the teachings of it: And then came up *form*, without power, and a wrathful ſpirit, to propagate it; and this made up the great *whore*, that looked like the *Lamb's bride*, Chriſt's church, but was not; which God will judge. Remember that God was not without a church, though the natural church and prieſthood of the *Jews* apoſtatiſed: ſo, in the caſe of the church of *Rome*."

"Now is the Lord raiſing up his old power, and giving his ſpirit, and moving upon the waters, (the people) that out of that ſtate all may come, and know God in ſpirit, and Chriſt, his Son; whom he has ſent into the people's hearts, a true *light*. And, my friend, build not upon fancies, nor the traditions of men, but *Chriſt* the ſure foundation, as he appears to thee, in thy conſcience; that thou mayeſt feel his power to redeem thee, up to himſelf, out of the earthly, ſenſual ſpirit, to know thy right eye plucked out, the true mortification;

mortification; and this brings thee to the church of the *firſt born*, that is more divine and noble, than an outward glittering church, that is inwardly polluted: For, know, as thou ſoweſt, thou reapeſt, in the great day of account. So to God's ſpirit, in thy own conſcience, do I recommend thee, that leads out of all evil, and quickens thee to God, as thou obeyeſt it, and makes thee a child of God, and an heir of Glory. I am in much haſte, and as much love,

"*Thy true friend*
"WILLIAM PENN."

"London, ninth October, 1675."

1676. He becomes a proprietor of Weſt Jerſey, &c.

In the year 1676, he became one of the principal perſons, concerned in ſettling *Weſt New Jerſey*, in *America;* as hereafter will appear, in the ſecond part of this introduction, in the account of the firſt ſettling and government of that colony. About this time alſo he writ to ſome perſons of great quality, in *Germany*, as appears in his works; encouraging them to a perſeverance in the paths of virtue and true religion; with the love of which he had underſtood their minds were happily and divinely inſpired.

1677.

In the year 1677, he travelled into *Holland* and *Germany*, in company with ſeveral of his friends, the *Quakers*, on a religious viſit, to theſe countries; of which there is extant, in his works, an account, or journal, written by himſelf; in a plain, familiar ſtile, and particularly ſuited to perſons of a religious turn of mind. It does not appear to have been originally intended to be publiſhed; for, in the preface, to its firſt publication, the author himſelf ſays,—"It was written for my own, and ſome relations, and particular friends ſatisfaction, as the long time it hath lain ſilent doth ſhew, but a copy, that was found among the late counteſs of *Conway's* papers, falling into the hands of a perſon, that much frequented that family, he was earneſt with me,

me, both by himſelf and others, to have leave to publiſh it, for a common good," &c. In this account are included divers letters, epiſtles and religious pieces, written during his travels there, to perſons of eminence and others, whom he either viſited in perſon, or writing, or both:—It is continued from the twenty-ſecond of the Fifth month, 1677, when he left home, to the firſt of the Ninth month the ſame year, when he arrived well at *Worminghurſt*, his habitation, in *Suſſex*.

In this journal mention is made of his having religious meetings, or paying perſonal viſits, at *Rotterdam*, *Leyden*, *Haerlam* and *Amſterdam;* in which laſt place he made ſome ſtay, being employed there in aſſiſting to regulate and ſettle the affairs of his religious ſociety in that city, &c. from thence he writ to the king of *Poland*, in favour of his perſecuted and ſuffering friends, the *Quakers*, at *Dantzick*. He was alſo at *Naerden*, *Oſnaburgh* and *Herwerden;* in the laſt of which places he had religious meetings and agreeable converſation with the princeſs *Elizabeth Palatine* and others. He viſited *Paderborn*, *Caſſel* and *Frankfort;* here he made ſome ſtay, and writ an epiſtle, "*To the churches of Jeſus throughout the world*," *&c.* From hence he went by the way of *Worms* to *Criſheim;* where he found a meeting of his friends, the *Quakers;* and writ to the princeſs, before mentioned, and the counteſs of *Hornes*, two Proteſtant ladies of great virtue and quality, at *Herwerden*. Thence by *Frankenthall* to *Manheim;* from which place he wrote to the prince elector *Palatine* of *Heydelburgh*. He was likewiſe at *Mentz*, and divers other places, on the *Rhine;* as *Cullen*, *Duyſburgh*, *&c.* But, on account of his being a *Quaker*, he was prohibited to enter into *Mulheim*, by the *Graef*, or earl of *Bruch* and *Falkenſteyn*, lord of that country; on which occaſion he wrote to him from *Duyſburgh*, a ſharp letter of reproof and advice; and to his daughter,

Names of ſome places which he viſited, &c.

1677.

the

the counteſs, a virtuous and religious lady, at *Mulheim*, on whoſe account his viſit there was principally intended, he ſent a conſolatory epiſtle.

He then viſited *Weſel*, *Rees*, *Emrick*, *Cleve*, *Nimmeguen*, *Lippenhuſen*, *Groningen*, *Embden*, *Bemen* and the *Hague;* and divers of theſe places, ſeveral times, frequently writing letters of advice and religious comfort to divers virtuous and religious perſons of great quality, and others; with ſeveral of whom he correſponded; and at the laſt mentioned place he corrected and finiſhed ſeveral long epiſtles of a religious nature; which were written and intended for the preſs, both in his firſt and ſecond journey, in *Germany;* which are now extant in his works. From the *Hague* he went to *Delft*, *Wonderwick*, and ſo to the *Briel;* and from thence by the packet, to *Harwich*, and home, within the limits of the time above mentioned.

He ſolicits the parliament, &c.

After his return from *Germany*, the people called *Quakers* being harraſſed with ſevere proſecutions, in the *exchequer*, on penalties of twenty pounds per month, or two-thirds of their eſtates, by laws made againſt Papiſts, but unjuſtly turned upon them; *W. Penn*, ſoliciting the parliament for redreſs of thoſe grievances, preſented petitions, on the occaſion, both to the lords and commons; where, upon being admitted to a hearing before a committee, on the twenty-ſecond of the month, called March, 1678, he made the following ſpeeches, *viz.*

1678.

His firſt ſpeech to the committee.

1678. W. P's. firſt ſpeech to committee of parliament.

" If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the apoſtle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope, that is in us, and that to every ſober and private enquirer; certainly much more ought we to hold ourſelves obliged to declare, with all readineſs, when called to it by ſo great authority, what is *not* our *hope*, eſpecially

eſpecially when our very ſafety is eminently concerned in ſo doing, and that we cannot decline this diſcrimination of ourſelves from *Papiſts*, without being conſcious to ourſelves of the guilt of our own ſufferings; for that muſt every man needs be, that ſuffers mutely, under another character than that, which truly and properly belongeth to him, and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to ſpeak, at this time, and in this place, is the great abuſe, that I have received, above any other of my profeſſion; for, of a long time, I have not only been ſuppoſed a Papiſt, but a *ſeminary*, a *Jeſuit*, an *emiſſary* of *Rome*, and in pay from the *Pope*, a man dedicating my endeavours to the intereſt and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealouſy and inſinuation of perſons otherwiſe ſober and diſcreet: Nay, ſome zealous for the Proteſtant religion, have been ſo far gone in this miſtake, as not only to think ill of us, and to decline our converſation, but to take courage to themſelves, to proſecute us for a ſort of concealed Papiſts; and the truth is, what with one thing, and what with another, we have been as the *wool-ſacks*, and common *whipping-ſtock* of the kingdom; all laws have been let looſe upon us, as if the deſign were not to reform, but to deſtroy us, and that not for what *we are*, but for what *we are not:* It is hard, that we muſt thus bear the ſtripes of another intereſt, and be their proxy, in puniſhment; but it is worſe, that ſome men can pleaſe themſelves in ſuch a ſort of adminiſtration."

" I would not be miſtaken, I am far from thinking it fit that *Papiſts* ſhould be whipped for their conſciences, becauſe I exclaim againſt the injuſtice of whipping *Quakers* for *Papiſts:* No, for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up againſt them, hath (I know not by what direction) lit heavy upon us, and we complain; yet we do not mean, that any

any ſhould take a freſh aim at them, or that they muſt come in our room; for we muſt give the liberty we aſk, and cannot be falſe to our principles, though it were to relieve ourſelves; for we have *good will* to all men, and would have none ſuffer for a truly ſober and conſcientious diſſent, on any hand: and I humbly take leave to add, that thoſe methods, againſt perſons ſo qualified, do not ſeem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the *reaſon* of mankind; but this I ſubmit to your conſideration."

"To conclude, I hope we ſhall be held excuſed of the men of that profeſſion, in giving this diſtinguiſhing declaration, ſince it is not with deſign to expoſe them; but, firſt, to pay that regard, we owe to the enquiry of this *committee;* and, in the next place, to relieve ourſelves from the daily ſpoil and ruin, which now attend and threaten many hundreds of families, by the execution of *laws*, that we humbly conceive were never made againſt us."

His ſecond ſpeech to the committee.

W. P's. ſecond ſpeech to the committee of parliament.

"The candid hearing, our ſufferings have received from the *committee*, and the fair and eaſy entertainment, that you have given us, oblige me to add what ever can increaſe your ſatisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe, I would tell you a *lie;* I am ſure I ſhould chooſe an ill time and place to tell it in; but, I thank God it is too late in the day for that. There are ſome here that have known me formerly; I believe they will ſay, I never was *that man;* and it would be hard, if after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I ſhould ſit down, in my retirement, ſhort of common truth."

"Excuſe the length of my introduction, it is for this I make it. I was bred a *Proteſtant*, and that ſtrictly too: I loſt nothing by time or ſtudy; for years,

years, reading, travel and obſervations made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment: my alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the poſture I am in may ſeem odd, or ſtrange to you, yet I am conſcientious; and (till you know me better) I hope your charity will rather call it my unhappineſs, than my crime. I do tell you again, and here ſolemly declare, in the preſence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profeſſion I now make, and the ſociety I now adhere to, have been ſo far from altering that *Proteſtant* judgment I had, that I am not conſcious to myſelf of having receded from an *iota* of any one principle, maintained by thoſe firſt *Proteſtants* and *reformers* of *Germany*, and our own *martyrs*, at home, againſt the *Pope, and See of Rome.*

1678. W. P's ſecond ſpeech to the committee of parliament.

" On the contrary, I do, with great truth, aſſure you, that we are of the ſame negative faith, with the ancient *Proteſtant church*, and, upon occaſion, ſhall be ready, by God's aſſiſtance, to make it appear, that we are of the ſame belief, as to the moſt fundamental *poſſitive articles of her creed* too. And, therefore it is, we think it hard, that though we deny, in common with her, thoſe doctrines of *Rome*, ſo zealouſly *proteſted* againſt, from whence the name *Proteſtants;* yet that we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to ſuffer, and that with extreme ſeverity, by thoſe very laws on purpoſe made againſt the maintainers of thoſe doctrines, we do ſo deny. We chuſe no ſuffering, for God knows what we have already ſuffered, and how many ſufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourſelves an uſeful people: we are ſure we are a peaceable people; but, if we ſtill ſuffer, let us not ſuffer as *Popiſh recuſants*, but as *Proteſteſtant diſſenters.*

" But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the leaſt, that hath been made againſt us, *viz. That we are enemies to government, in gene-*

ral, and particularly diſaffected to this we live under: I think it not amiſs, but very ſeaſonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you, (and that I do with good conſcience, in the ſight of the Almighty God) firſt, that we believe *government* to be *God's ordinance;* and next, that this *preſent government* is eſtabliſhed by the *providence of God*, and *law of the land*, and that it is our *chriſtian duty* readily to obey it, in all *juſt laws;* and wherein we cannot comply, through *tenderneſs* of *conſcience*, in all ſuch caſes, not to revile, or conſpire againſt the government, but, with chriſtian humility and patience tire out all miſtakes about us; and wait their better information; who, we believe, do as undeſervedly as ſeverely treat us; and I know not what greater ſecurity can be given by any people, or how any government can be eaſier from the ſubjects of it.

"I ſhall conclude with this; that we are ſo far from eſteeming it hard, or ill, that the houſe hath put us upon this diſcrimination, that, on the contrary, we value it as we ought to do, for an high favour, (and cannot chuſe but ſee, and humbly acknowledge God's providence therein) that you ſhould give us this fair occaſion to diſcharge ourſelves of a burden we have, not with more patience than injuſtice, ſuffered but too many years under; and I hope our converſation ſhall always manifeſt the grateful reſentment of our minds, for the juſtice and civility of this opportunity; and ſo I pray God direct you."

Parliament prorogued; and the Quakers not relieved

The committee agreed to inſert in a bill, then depending, a *proviſo*, or *clauſe*, for relief, in the caſe complained of; and the ſame did paſs the *Houſe of Commons:* But before it had gone through the *Houſe of Lords*, it was quaſhed by a ſudden prorogation of the parliament.

1679. He writes divers treatiſes, &c.

About this time, and the following year, the people's minds being hurried and diſturbed with rumours of plots, apprehenſions of a *French* invaſion,

ſion, and deſigns to ſubvert the *Proteſtant* religion, and introduce *Popery*, he writ and publiſhed ſeveral pieces by way of advice to his friends, the *Quakers*, in particular, and alſo for ſettling the minds of the people in general, and turning them to their real and beſt intereſt, both in a *religious* and *political* ſenſe; among which was publiſhed, in the year 1679, that excellent treatiſe, entitled, "*An addreſs to Proteſtants of all perſuaſions*," &c.— And in the year 1681, there being a freſh perſecution againſt his friends, the *Quakers*, in the city of *Briſtol*, *W. Penn* writ them the following epiſtle, (which is here inſerted as a ſpecimen of his writing on ſuch occaſions) for their *Chriſtian* conſolation and encouragement, directed,

"*To the friends of God in the city of Briſtol*," 1681.

"This ſent to be read among them, when aſſembled to wait upon the Lord."

"*My beloved in the Lord*,"

"I do hereby ſend amongſt you the dear and tender ſalutation of my unfeigned love, that is held in the fellowſhip of the laſting goſpel of peace, that has many years been preached and believed amongſt you, beſeeching the God and Father of this glorious day of the Son of man, to increaſe and multiply his grace, mercy and peace among you; that you may be faithful, and abound in every good word and work, doing and ſuffering what is pleaſing unto God; that you may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God; which it becomes you to be found daily doing; that ſo an entrance may be adminiſtered unto you abundantly into the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, that is an everlaſting kingdom. My beloved brethren and ſiſters, be not caſt down at the rage of evil men, whoſe anger works not the righteouſneſs of God; and whoſe cruelty the Lord will limit. Nothing ſtrange, or unuſual, is come to paſs, it makes well for them, that eye the Lord in

To his perſecuted friends in Briſtol.

in and through theſe ſufferings: there is food in affliction, and though the inſtruments of it cannot ſee it, all ſhall work together for good to them that fear the Lord: keep your ground in the *truth*, that was, and is the ſaints victory. They that ſhrink, go out of it; it is a ſhield to the righteous: feel it, and ſee, I charge you by the preſence of the Lord, that you turn not aſide the Lord's end towards you, in this ſuffering, by conſulting with fleſh and blood, in eaſing your adverſaries; for that will load you. Keep out of baſe bargainings, or conniving at fleſhly evaſions of the *croſs*. Our Captain would not leave us ſuch an example: let them ſhrink that know not why they ſhould ſtand; we know, in whom we have believed: he is mightier in the faithful, to ſuffer and endure to the end, than the world, to perſecute: call to mind thoſe bleſſed ancients, "That by faith overcame of old, that endured cruel mockings and ſcourgings, yea moreover, bonds and impriſonments, that accepted not deliverance, (to deny their teſtimony) that they might obtain a better reſurrection:"—They were ſtoned; they were tempted; they were ſawn aſunder; they were ſlain with the ſword; but ye have not ſo reſiſted unto *blood;* and it ſufficeth, I hope, to you, that the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reſerve the unjuſt unto the day of judgment, to be puniſhed; when it may be truly ſaid, "It ſhall go well with the righteous, but very ill with the wicked." The Lord God, by his power, keep your hearts living to him; that it may be your delight to *wait* upon him, and receive the bounty of his love; that, being fed with his daily bread and drinking of his cup of bleſſing, you may be raiſed above the fear and trouble of earthly things and grow ſtrong in him, who is your crown of rejoicing; that, having anſwered his requirings, and walked faithfully before him, you may receive, in the end of your days, the welcome ſentence of gladneſs. *Eternal*

1681. W. Penn, to his perſecuted friends in Briſtol.

riches

riches are before you, an inheritance incorruptible: preſs after that glorious mark: let your minds be ſet on things that are above, and when Chriſt, that is the glory of his poor people, ſhall appear, they ſhall appear with him in glory; when all tears ſhall be wiped away, and there ſhall be no more ſorrow, or ſighing, but they, that overcome, ſhall ſtand as Mount Sion, that cannot be removed."

"So, my dear friends and brethren, endure, that you may be ſaved, and you ſhall reap, if you faint not. What ſhould we be troubled for? our kingdom is not of *this world*, nor can be ſhaken by the overturning here below. Let all give glory to God on high, live peaceably on earth, and ſhew good will to all men; and our enemies will at laſt, ſee they do they know not what, and repent, and glorify God, our heavenly Father. O! great is God's work on earth. Be *univerſal* in your ſpirits, and keep out all ſtraitneſs and narrowneſs: look to God's great and glorious kingdom, and its proſperity: our time is not our own, nor are we our own: God hath bought us with a price, not to ſerve ourſelves, but to glorify him, both in body, ſoul and ſpirit; and, by bodily ſufferings for the truth, he is glorified: look to the accompliſhing of the will of God, in theſe things; that the meaſure of Chriſt's ſufferings may be filled up in us, who bear about the "dying of the Lord Jeſus;" elſe our ſuffering is in vain. Wherefore, as the flock of God, and family and houſe-hold of faith, walk with your loins girded, being ſober, hoping to the end, for the grace and kindneſs, which ſhall be brought unto you, at the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt, to whom you and your's are committed: his precious ſpirit miniſter unto you, and his own life be ſhed abroad plenteouſly among you, that you may be kept blameleſs to the end. I am your friend and brother in the fellowſhip of the ſuffering for *truth*, as it is in *Jeſus*,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"*Worminghurſt, the 24th. of the Twelfth month*, 1681."

Having thus far purſued this abſtracted account of the life of *W. Penn*, I ſhall, in the next place, after having previouſly given a brief preliminary deſcription of the firſt riſe of the *Britiſh* colonies, in *America*, and more eſpecially of *Weſt New Jerſey*, in which he was ſo much concerned, attend him in the ſettlement and colonization of his province of *Pennſylvania*.

INTRODUCTION.

PART THE SECOND.

CONTAINING,

A ſhort preliminary ſketch *of the firſt colonization of continental* America *by the* Engliſh;—*Of th*^e Dutch *and* Swediſh *ſettlements, pretenſions and proceedings*, on Hudſon's *or* North river, *and on the bay and river of* Delaware;—*But more particularly, of the riſe, government, and early tranſactions of the colony of* Weſt New Jerſey, *previous to thoſe of* Pennſylvania.

THE firſt European diſcovery of ſome of the inſular parts of *America*, in the year 1492, by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, and the ſucceſs of his ſubſequent voyages, as well as thoſe of Americus Veſpucius, between the years 1496 and 1499, to that continent, both in the ſervice of *Spain*, are now ſo well known as here to need no repetition; and, for the ſame reaſon, it is unneceſſary to ſpecify, in this place, how, or why, this newly diſcovered part of the world was called *America*, from the name of the latter of theſe perſons; whoſe laſt voyage, in the employment of *Portugal*, gave that part of *South America* now called *Braſil*, to that kingdom; as the prior diſcoveries of *Columbus* and *himſelf* had added, beſides the iſlands, immenſe tract of territory

1492. Diſcovery of America by Columbus, and by Americus, &c.

ritory to *Spain*, both in the northern and ſouthern latitudes of continental *America;* according to that univerſally acknowledged *law of nations*, which aſſigns all waſte and uncultivated countries to the prince, who is at the charge of the firſt diſcovery of them.*

1497. Britiſh diſcoveries, by the Cabots, &c.

I ſhall only, therefore, in this place, previouſly mention, that, in the year 1497, *John* and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, father and ſon, in the ſervice of king *Henry* the ſeventh of *England*, by the beſt accounts, are generally acknowledged to have been the firſt *Europeans*, who diſcovered that part of north *America*, where the *Engliſh* colonies were afterwards ſettled, along the *Atlantic* ſhore, including *Newfoundland*, from 60, or 68 degrees north, to ſo far ſouth, as the iſle of *Cuba*, or the latitude of *Florida*.†

All

* See Juſtinian, Grotius, &c. on this ſubject.

Columbus is ſaid to be buried in the cathedral of Seville, in *Spain*, with this inſcription on his tomb.

" *Columbus* has given a *new world*
To the *kingdoms* of *Caſtile and Leon*."

Herrera, the great Spaniſh hiſtorian of *America*, expreſsly affirms, " That neither on the continent, nor iſles of the *Weſt Indies* (the name the *Spaniards* uſually give to all *America*) were there either ſilk, wine, ſugar, olives, wheat, barley or pulſe; all which (adds *Herrera*) and many other things have been tranſported thither from *Spain*." Their own ſole original productions were tobacco, indigo, cochineal, cotton, ginger, cocoa, piemento, ſundry uſeful drugs and woods for dying, furniture, phyſic," &c.

ANDERSON's hiſtorical deduction of commerce, &c.

† " The main end of the above attempt of the *Cabots*, from *England*, was ſaid by the writers of, or near, theſe times, to have been to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the *Indies*, or ſpice iſlands, or, to *Cathaia;* as they then termed a country, ſince known to be *China;* whither ſome travellers had gone over by land, in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *Cabot* having ſailed ſo far north as 67½ degrees, the land which he firſt ſaw, was the country between the mouth of the river of *Canada* and *Hudſon*'s ſtrait; and which he, therefore, named *Prima viſta;* (i. e. firſt diſcovered) which name it ſoon loſt; and next got the name of *Corterialis*, from a *Portugueze;* who, from *Liſbon*, fell in with that coaſt, anno 1500, calling alſo the north part of it *Eſtotiland*. After the *French* had ſettled in *Canada*, they freely called the country *New France*. Laſtly, the *Engliſh* diſcoveries, on the north parts of that country, deep into the bay of *Hudſon*, called it *New Britain;* though the *Portugueze*, in ſome of their maps, called it *Terra di Labrador:* its only produce hitherto being peltry, furs and feathers."

ANDERSON, &c.

All this extent of territory, or, leaſt, from 34 to 45 degrees of north latitude, including all that tract of land, which is ſituated between the extreme bounds of *New England* and *Carolina*, north and ſouth, was, in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, named *Virginia;* which was then deemed to comprehend all the habitable part of the Britiſh continental territories in *America*. Which name is ſaid to have been given it, either by the *queen* herſelf, or by Sir *Walter Raleigh;* who, in the year 1584, obtained a patent from the *queen*, for making a ſettlement in *America*. This was accordingly attempted, at different times; though at firſt unſucceſsfully, in that part of the continent, which ſtill retains the name of *Virginia.** The ancient Virginia. 1584.

In the year 1606, the whole extent of this territory was divided into two parts, or colonies, by a charter obtained of king *James*, for two companies. The firſt was called the *South Virginia* company, comprehending the now named provinces of *Maryland*, *Virginia* and *Carolina*; or all the country which is ſituated between 34 and 41 degrees of N. latitude, which includes part of Pennſylvania. 1606. Virginia divided into two colonies.

Theſe

* "In the year 1584, Sir *Walter Raleigh* formed his ſcheme with a number of gentlemen and merchants, for making a ſettlement in *America;* for which purpoſe queen *Elizabeth*, on lady day, this year, grants him, &c. a charter for the poſſeſſing of ſuch remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by *Chriſtians*, as they ſhould diſcover in ſix years; of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever, reſerving to the crown the fifth part of all the gold and ſilver ore found therein, with power to ſeize, to their proper uſe, all ſhips, with their merchandize, that ſhall without leave, plant within two hundred miles of this intended ſettlement; excepting however, the queen's ſubjects and allies, fiſhing at *Newfoundland*," &c. "Grants free denization to the planters and their poſterity reſiding there."—"Powers are alſo granted to the patentees, for making *Bye-laws* there, not repugnant to thoſe of *England*."—Amidas and Barlow, with two veſſels, were accordingly ſent the ſame year."—They arrived at a part of what is now called *Virginia;* which name, either the queen herſelf, or Sir *Walter Raleigh*, gave that country; where making ſome inſignificant trade with the natives, they returned home."

"N. B. In this, and ſome other patents of thoſe times, there was no diſtinct place, longitude nor latitude, fixed or limited, for ſuch plantation, although, undoubtedly, *North America* was the country intended."

Anderſon, &c.

Theſe were called the *London adventurers.* The ſecond company were called the *Plymouth adventurers;* who were empowered to plant and inhabit ſo far as to 45 degrees of N. latitude, in which compaſs was included what is now called *Pennſylvania,* in part, *New Jerſey, New York* and *New England.*

Planting of Virginia.

The firſt, or *London company,* which moſt properly ought to be called the *Virginia company,* did, in this ſame year 1606, or the next following, effect a ſettlement near the mouth of *Powhatan,* now called *James's river,* within *Cheſapeak* bay, which they named *James town;* which name it ſtill retains. This is ſaid to have been the firſt *Engliſh* colony, on the continent of *America,* which took root, and has continued permanent to our days; all former attempts having proved abortive.

1620. Planting of N. England &c.

From this time, till the year 1620, the planting of *New-England,* or the northern diviſion, appears not to have been ſuccesfully undertaken; though there had been ſeveral voyages made during this interval, but moſtly in a trading way, to that part of the continent.* But in the year 1620, the firſt permanent plantation, or, which remains ſuch to this time, appears to have been made in that country; to which king *Charles* the firſt, then prince of *Wales,* is ſaid to have given the name of *New-England:*† "For which purpoſe (ſays governor *Hutchinſon,* in his hiſtory of *Maſſachuſetts* bay) a new patent was granted, bearing date, November third 1620, incorporating the adventurers to the

*. "It is evident, from the charter, that the original deſign of it was to conſtitute a corporation in *England,* like that of the *Eaſt Indies,* and other great companies, with powers to ſettle plantations within the limits of the territory, under ſuch forms of government and magiſtracy as ſhould be fit and neceſſary."

Hutchinſon's hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts Bay.

†. "Captain John Smith, having ſurveyed the inland country, and preſented a map of it to *Charles,* prince of *Wales,* the prince gave the country the name of *New England.*"

Anderſon, &c.

the northern colony, by the name of *The Council for the affairs of New-England;* the bounds of the country were expreſſed between forty and forty-eight degrees north."

In the year 1623, there were ſo many complaints made of bad management, that, on enquiry, a *Quo warranto* was iſſued againſt the *Virginia* charters, including both North and South *Virginia;* and it is ſaid, after a trial in the *King's Bench*, they were declared forfeited.*

* "In volume ſeventeenth of *Rymer's Fœdera*, page 608, we have a more diſtinct view of the condition of the colony of *Virginia;* in a commiſſion from King *James*, to many lords and gentlemen, as follows, *viz.*—"*WE*, having by letters patent of the fourth year of our reign, granted powers to divers knights, gentlemen and others, for the more ſpeedy accompliſhment of the plantation of *Virginia*, that they ſhould divide themſelves into two colonies; the one to conſiſt of *Londoners*, called the *Firſt Colony;* and the other, of thoſe of *Briſtol*, *Exeter* and *Plymouth*, called the *Second Colony*. And we did, by ſeveral letters under our privy ſeal, preſcribe orders and conſtitutions, for directing the affairs of ſaid *colony*.

"And whereas, afterwards, upon the petition of divers adventurers and planters of the ſaid *Firſt (or London) colony*, *WE*, by letters patent in the ſeventh year of our reign, *(anno* 1610*)* incorporated divers noblemen, knights, &c. by the name of *The Treaſurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the city of London, for the firſt Colony of Virginia;* granting them divers lands, territories, &c. to be conveyed by them to the adventurers and planters; with power to have a council there reſident, for the affairs of the colony; and alſo to place and diſplace officers.

"And afterwards, in the tenth year of our reign, (1613) by letters patent, did further mention to give that Company divers *Iſles*, on that coaſt."

"And whereas, *WE*, finding the courſes taken, for the ſettling of the ſaid colony, have not taken the good effect, we intended, did, by a late commiſſion to ſundry perſons of quality and truſt, cauſe the ſtate of the ſaid colony to be examined into; who, after much pains taken, reported, that moſt of our people ſent thither, had died by ſickneſs and famine, and by *maſſacrees* by the natives; and that ſuch as are ſtill living, were in a lamentable neceſſity and want; though they (the Commiſſioners) conceived the country to be both fruitful and healthful; and that, if induſtry were uſed, it would produce many good ſtaple commodities."—"But by neglect of the Governors and Managers here, it had, as yet, produced few, or none"——"That the ſaid plantations are of great importance; and would, as they hoped, remain a laſting monument of our moſt gracious and happy government to all poſterity, if the ſame were proſecuted to thoſe ends, for which they were firſt undertaken."——"Whereupon, *We*, entering into mature conſideration of the premiſes, did, by advice of our Privy Council, reſolve to alter the charter of the ſaid Company, *as to points of government:*—but the ſaid Treaſurer and Company not ſubmitting thereto, *The ſaid charters are now avoided by a Quo Warranto.* Wherefore, *We* direct you to conſider the ſtate of the ſaid colony, and what points are fitting to be inſerted in the intended new charter,

1625. The preſent form of government ſettled in Virgnia.

"And about the year 1625,"—(ſays Anderſon, in his hiſtorical deduction of commerce, &c.)—"King *Charles* the firſt iſſued the following proclamation, which firſt laudably eſtabliſhed the prudent form of government, in which this, (i. e. *South Virginia;* or what is now called *Virginia*,) and the other regal colonies, have remained to this day (1761) *viz.*—That, whereas, in his royal father's time, the charter of the *Virginia* Company was, by a *Quo warranto* annulled; and whereas, his ſaid father was, and he himſelf alſo is of opinion, that the government of that colony by a company incorporated, conſiſting of a multitude of perſons of various diſpoſitions, among whom affairs of the greateſt moment are ruled by a majority of votes, was not ſo proper for carrying on proſperouſly the affairs of the colony: wherefore, to reduce the government thereof to ſuch a courſe, as might beſt agree with that form, which was held in his royal monarchy; and conſidering alſo that we hold theſe territories of *Virginia*, and the *Somer Iſles*, as alſo that of *New England*, (lately planted) with the limits thereof, to be a part of our royal empire; *We ordain*, that the government of the colony of *Virginia* ſhall immediately depend on *ourſelf*, and not to be committed to any company or corporation; to whom it may be proper to truſt matters of trade and commerce, but cannot be fit to commit the ordering of ſtate affairs. Wherefore our commiſſioners for thoſe affairs ſhall proceed as directed, till we eſtabliſh a council here, for that colony; to be ſubordinate to our Privy Council."—"And, that we will alſo eſtabliſh another council, to be reſident in *Virginia*, who ſhall be ſubordinate to our council here, for that colony. And, at our own charge

charter, and to report to *Us*."——"And in the meantime to take care to ſupply the Planters there with neceſſaries, and to do all other acts needful for maintaining the colony."

"Moreover the King (Ibidem page 618) appoints Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor of the colony, with eleven Counſellors, reſidingin the colony."

Anderſon, &c. vol. 2. page 18.

charge we will maintain thoſe public officers and miniſters, and that ſtrength of men, munition, and fortification, which ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of that plantation."

After the diſſolution of the *Virginia* charters, the Britiſh continental territories, in *America*, that had before gone under the name of *Virginia*, being under the immediate direction of the crown, and at liberty to be granted to whom the crown thought proper, particular patents, in conſequence thereof, for ſuch parts as remained unplanted, were accordingly granted at various times, and on different occaſions. And in the year 1628, on the fourth of March, the ſettlers on *Maſſachuſetts* bay obtained their firſt royal charter, for the government of that colony; *Matthew Cradock* being appointed the firſt Governor, and *Thomas Goffe*, deputy Governor; the patent, from the council of *Plymouth* having given them a right to the ſoil only, but no powers of government.

And in New-England.

Hutchinſon's hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts bay

In the year 1609, the *Dutch Eaſt India* company, according to their own writers, employed *Henry Hudſon*, an *Engliſhman*, to attempt the diſcovery of a *north weſt* paſſage to *China;* in this voyage he diſcovered *Delaware bay;** and alſo ſailed to the place, where *New York* now ſtands, and up *North river*, called by him *Hudſon's river*, ſo far north, as latitude 43 degrees.† In conſequence of which

1609. Dutch diſcovery, or claim, &c. of New-York, &c.

* "Sir *Thomas Weſt*, Lord *Delaware*, made Captain General of *Virginia*, in 1609, in his ſecond voyage to that colony, in the year 1618, died at ſea; and I think, (ſays *Stith*, in his hiſtory of *Virginia*,) I have ſomewhere ſeen, that he died about the mouth of *Delaware* bay, which thence took its name from him."

Stith's hiſtory of Virginia.

But I find, in an old Sweediſh manuſcript, it was called *Poutaxat* by the Indians.

† "*Henry Hudſon*, an *Engliſhman*, according to our authors, in the year 1608, under a commiſſion from the king, his maſter, diſcovered *Long-Iſland*, *New-York*, and the river that ſtill bears his name; and afterwards ſold the country, or rather his right, to the *Dutch*."

Smith's hiſtory of New-York.

which, the *Dutch*, having purchaſed of him, as they ſay, his chart of diſcoveries, on the coaſt, obtained a patent from the ſtates, in the year 1614, for an excluſive trade, on the ſaid river; and made a ſettlement, in the province, now called *New York*; to which they gave the name of *New Netherland*; claiming within the ſame the country on *Delaware*:*—On the iſland, called *Manhattans*, at the mouth of the ſaid river they erected a fort; where they afterwards, in the year 1656, laid out and began their town of *New-Amſterdam*, now *New-York*.

1623. In the year 1623, they erected ſeveral forts in different parts of the new territory, to which they had thus made claim; among which they built one on *Delaware*, (by them called *South river*) near *Glouceſter*, in *New-Jerſey*. But the commodious ſituation of *New-York*, for the ſea and trade, induced moſt of them, who were ſettled on the *Delaware*, ſoon afterwards to quit it, and fix their ſettlements on both ſides of *North river*, before any of the *Swedes* came into *America*.

In

* "The extent of *New-Netherland*, (ſays *Smith*, in his hiſtory of *New-York*,) was to *Delaware*, then called *South river*, and beyond it; For I find in the Dutch records, a copy of a letter from *William Kieft*, their Governor, at *New-Amſterdam*, May ſixth, 1638, directed to *Peter Minuit*, who ſeems, by the tenor of it, to be the *Swediſh* Governor of *New-Sweden*, "Aſſerting that the whole ſouth river of *New-Netherlands* had been in the *Dutch poſſeſſion* many years, above and below, beſet with forts, and ſealed with their blood."—"Which (*Kieft* adds) has happened, even, during your adminiſtration, in *New-Netherland*, and ſo well known to you."

"In the year 1642, *Kieft* fitted out two Sloops to drive the *Engliſh* out of *Schuylkill*, of which the *Marylanders* had lately poſſeſſed themſelves. The inſtructions, dated, May twenty ſecond, to *Jan Janſon Alpendam*, who commanded in that enterprize, are upon record, and ſtrongly aſſert the right of the *Dutch* both to the ſoil and trade there."

Smith's hiſtory of New-York.

The *Dutch* are reported, about the year 1623, to have furniſhed the *Indians* with *Fire-arms*, and to have taught them the uſe thereof, that by their aſſiſtance, they might expel the *Engliſh*, when they began to ſettle around them.

Smith's hiſtory of New-Jerſey, and others.

In the year 1626, under the reign of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, a ſcheme was ſet on foot in that kingdom, for ſettling a colony in *America;* This was chiefly promoted by the great commendation which *William Uſeling*, an eminent merchant, gave of this country; and the undertaking was, in the following year, 1627, principally through his means and perſuaſion, put in execution. 1627. The Swedes ſettlement and claim on the Delaware, &c.

The firſt landing of the *Swedes* and *Fins*, this year, was at cape *Inlopen*, the interior cape of *Delaware;** which, from its pleaſant appearance to them,

* This cape is frequently confounded with cape *Hinlopen*, the exterior, or the *Falſe-cape*, in *Fenwick's* iſland, being written in the ſame manner, and ſometimes, *Henlopen;*—ſaid to be a Swediſh word, ſignifying, *Entering in:*—It was alſo formerly, ſometimes called cape *Cornelius*, and afterwards by *William Penn*, cape *James*.—It is ſituated in north latitude 38 degrees, 56 minutes.

In the notes to *Smith's* hiſtory of *New-Jerſey*, is inſerted an extract from a pamphlet, ſaid there to have been publiſhed in 1648, entitled, "*A deſcription of the province of New-Albion,—in North America*," &c. [which country, extending from the weſt bank of *North-river* to the bounds of *Virginia*, is ſaid to have been granted by king *James* the firſt to ſir *Edward Ploeyden*, made earl *Palatine* of the ſame,] giving, among other things, an account of the country, on the bay and river of *Delaware:* and though part of it, at this time, appears not very intelligible, yet, as it is ſomewhat curious, and exhibits what notion, or knowledge, of this country, was then propagated, the following extract therefrom, may probably be entertaining to ſome.

The author, giving an account of the diſcoveries of *Cabot*, further ſays,

"The ſaid *Cabot* took poſſeſſion in latitude 37 degrees, of that part called *Virginia* and *Cheſapeak* bay,—and of the next great bay, in, or near 39 degrees, called now by the *Dutch*, cape *Henlopen*, the *South-river*, and by us cape *James*, and *Delaware* bay, of the baron of *Delaware's* name, being then governor of *Virginia;* who, by ſir *Thomas Dale*, and ſir *Samuel Argoll*, forty years ſince, took poſſeſſion and atturnment of the *Indian* kings; and ſixty years ſince, ſir *Walter Raleigh* ſeated and left thirty men, and four pieces of ordnance; and the creek, near cape *James*, by the *Dutch* called *Horekill*, by us *Roymount*, and by the *Indians*, *Cui Achamoca;*"—(ſpeaking of the *Dutch*, in *New-Netherland*, he ſays,)—"and in general they endanger all his majeſties adjoining countries, moſt wickedly, feloniouſly, and traiterouſly, contrary to the marine and admiral laws of all chriſtians, ſell, by wholeſale, guns, powder, ſhot and ammunition to the *Indians*, inſtructing them in the uſe of our fights and arms;—likewiſe, the *Swedes* hiring out three of their ſoldiers to the *Suſquahannocks*, have taught them the uſe of our arms and fights."—

"Whereas, that part of *America*, or *North-Virginia*, lying about 39 degrees, on *Delaware* bay, called *The province of New-Albion*, is ſituated in the beſt, and ſame temper as *Italy*, between too cold *Germany*, and

them, they named *Paradiſe-point*. They are ſaid to have purchaſed of ſome *Indians*, the land from cape *Inlopen*, to the falls of *Delaware*, on both ſides of the river; which they called *New-Swede-land ſtream;* and made preſents to the *Indian* chiefs, to obtain peaceable poſſeſſion of the land ſo purchaſed:

and too hot *Barbary:* ſo this lying juſt midway between *New-England*, two hundred miles north; and *Virginia*, one hundred and fifty miles ſouth; where now are ſettled eight thouſand *Engliſh*, and one hundred and forty ſhips in trade, is freed from the extreme cold and barrenneſs of the one, and heat and aguiſh marſhes of the other; and is like *Lombardy;* and a rich, fat ſoil, plain, and having thirty-four rivers, on the main land; ſeventeen great iſles; and partaketh of the healthieſt air, and moſt excellent commodities of *Europe*, and repleniſhed with the goodlieſt woods of oak, and all timber for ſhips and maſts, mulberries, ſweet cyprus, cedars, pines and firs; four ſorts of grapes, for wine and raiſins and with the greateſt variety of choice fruits, fiſh and fowl; ſtored with all ſorts of corn, yielding five, ſeven and ten quarters an acre: ſilk graſs, ſalt, good mines, and dyers ware; five ſorts of deer, buffs, and huge elks, to plow and work, all bringing three young at once. The uplands covered many months with berries, roots, cheſnuts, walnuts, beech and oak-maſt, to feed them; hogs and turkies, five hundred in a flock; and having, near the colony of *Manteſes*, four hundred thouſand acres of plain mead land, and mere level, to be flowed and flooded by that river, for corn, rice, grapes, flax and hemp. After ſeventeen years trading, and diſcovering there, and trial made, is begun to be planted and ſtored by the governor and company of *New-Albion*, conſiſting of forty-four lords, baronets, knights and merchants; who, for the true informing of themſelves, their friends, adventurers and partners, by reſidents and traders there four ſeveral years, out of their journal books, namely captain *Browne*, a ſhip maſter, and maſter *Stafford*, his mate, and by captain *Claybourn*, fourteen years there trading, and *Conſtantine* his *Indian*, there born and bred, and by maſter *Robert Evelin*, four years there, yet by eight of their hands ſubſcribed and enrolled, do teſtify this to be the true ſtate of the country of the land and *Delaware* bay, or *Charles's* river; which is further witneſſed by captain *Smith*, and other books of *Virginia*, and by *New-England* proſpect, *New-Canaan*, captain *Powell's* map, and other deſcriptions of *New-England* and *Virginia*."

" Maſter Evelin's letter.

" *Good Madam*,

" Sir *Edmund*, our noble governor and lord, earl *Palatine*, perſiſting ſtill in his noble purpoſe, to go on with his plantation, on *Delaware* or *Charles's* river, juſt midway between *New-England* and *Virginia*, where, with my unkle *Young*, I ſeveral years reſided, hath often informed himſelf, both of me and maſter *Stratton*, as I perceive by the hands ſubſcribed, of *Edward Monmouth*, *Tenis Palee*, and as maſter *Buckham*, maſter *White*, and other ſhip maſters and ſailors, whoſe hands I know, and it to be true, that there lived and traded with me, and is ſufficiently inſtructed of the ſtate of the country and people there. And I ſhould very gladly, according to his deſire, have waited upon you into *Hampſhire*, to have informed your honor, in perſon, had I not, next week, been paſſing to *Virginia*. But nevertheleſs, to ſatisfy you of the truth,

chaſed:—with whom they appear to have lived in much amity; but they were frequently diſturbed by the *Dutch*; who, in the year 1630, built a fort within the capes of *Delaware*, at the place now called *Lewis-town*, but then, and ſometime ſince, *Hoerkill*; 1630.

truth, I thought good to write unto you my knowledge, and firſt, to deſcribe to you, from the north ſide of *Delaware*, unto *Hudſon's* river, in ſir *Edmund's* patent, called *New-Albion*; which lyeth juſt between *New-England* and *Maryland*, and that *ocean-ſea*; I take it to be about one hundred and ſixty miles; I find ſome broken land, iſles and inlets, and many ſmall iſles at *Egg-bay*. But, going to *Delaware-bay*, by cape *May*; which is twenty-four miles, at moſt, and is, as I underſtand, very well ſet out, and printed in captain *Powell's* map of *New-England*, done, as is told me, by a draught I gave to *M. Daniel*, the plot maker; which, ſir *Edmund* ſaith, you have at home;—on that north ſide, about five miles within, a port, or road, for any ſhips, called the *Nook*; and within lyeth the king of *Kechemeches*, having, as I ſuppoſe, about fifty men; and twelve leagues higher, a little above the bay and bar, is the river of *Manteſes*, which hath twenty miles on *Charles's* river, and thirty miles running up a fair navigable, deep river, all a flat level of rich and fat black marſh mould; which I think to be three hundred thouſand acres. In this ſir *Edmund* intends, as he ſaith, to ſettle; and there the king of *Manteſes* hath about one hundred bowmen. Next above, about ſix leagues higher, is a fair deep river, twelve miles navigable; where is *Free-ſtone*, and there, over againſt it, is the king of *Sikoneſſes*; and next is *Aſomoches* river and king, with an hundred men; and next is *Eriwoneck*, a king of forty men; where we ſat down; and five miles above is the king of *Ramcock*, with one hundred men; and four miles higher the king of *Axion*, with two-hundred men; and next to him, ten leagues over land, an inland king *Calcefar*, with one hundred and fifty men; and then there is, in the middle of *Charles's* river, two fair woody iſlands, very pleaſant and fit for parks, one of one thouſand acres, the other of one thouſand four hundred, or thereabouts; and ſix leagues higher, near a creek, called *Moſilian*, the king having two hundred men; and then we come to the *Falls*, made by a rock of limeſtone; as I ſuppoſe, it is about ſixty-five leagues from the ſea:—near to which is an iſle, fit for a city; all materials there to build; and above, the river fair and navigable, as the *Indians* inform me; for I went but ten miles higher. I do account all the *Indians* to be about eight hundred; and are in ſeveral factions and war againſt the *Suſquahannocks*; and are all extreme fearful of a gun, naked and unarmed againſt our ſhot, ſwords and pikes. I had ſome bickering with ſome of them; and they are of ſo little eſteem, as I durſt, with fifteen men, ſit down, or trade in deſpight of them; and ſince my return eighteen *Swedes* are ſettled there; and ſo ſometimes ſixteen *Dutchmen* do, in a boat, trade without fear of them."

"I ſaw there an infinite quantity of buſtards, ſwans, geeſe and fowl, covering the ſhores; as within, the like multitude of pidgeons, and ſtore of turkies; of which I tried one to weigh forty-ſix pounds. There is much variety and plenty of delicate freſh ſea fiſh, and ſhell fiſh, and whales or grampus; elks, deer that bring three young at a time, and the woods beſtrewed many months with cheſnuts, walnuts and maſt of ſeveral ſorts, to feed them and hogs, that would increaſe exceedingly. There the barren grounds have four kinds of grapes, and many mulberries.

The Swedes and Dutch unite against the Engliſh, &c.

Hoerkill;—But both they and the *Dutch* appear to have agreed ſo far together, as to unite in expelling ſuch *Engliſh*, as about this time, began to ſettle near, or on the eaſt ſide of *Delaware*, and to prevent them from coming among them.

In

ries, with aſh, elms, and the talleſt and greateſt pines and pitch trees, that I have ſeen. There are cedars, cypreſs and ſaſſafras, with wild fruits, pears, wild-cherries, pine-apples, and the dainty *Parſemenas*; and there is no queſtion but *Almonds*, and other fruits of *Spain*, will proſper, as in *Virginia*. And (which is a good comfort) in four and twenty hours, you may ſend, or go by ſea, to *New-England*, or *Virginia*, with a fair wind; you may have cattle, and from the *Indians* two thouſand buſhels of corn, at twelve pence a buſhel, in truck; ſo as victuals are there cheaper and better than to be tranſported; neither do I conceive any great need of a fort, or charge, where there is no enemy."

"If my lord *Palatine* will bring with him three hundred men, or more, there is no doubt, but he may do very well, and grow rich; for it is a moſt pure healthful air, and ſuch pure wholeſome ſprings, rivers and waters, as are delightful of a deſert, as can be ſeen; with ſo many varieties of ſeveral flowers, trees and foreſts, for ſwine; ſo many fair riſings and proſpects, all green and verdant: and *Maryland*, a good friend and neighbour, in four and twenty hours, ready to comfort and ſupply."

"And truly, I believe, my lord of *Baltimore* will be glad of my lord *Palatine's* plantation and aſſiſtance, againſt any enemy, or bad neighbour: and if my lord *Palatine* employ ſome men to ſow flax, hemp and rapes in theſe rich marſhes, or build ſhips, and make pipe ſtaves, and load ſome ſhips with theſe wares, or fiſh, from the northward, he may have any money, ware, or company, brought him, by his own ſhips, or the ſhips of *Virginia*, or *New-England*, all the year."

"And becauſe your honour is of the noble houſe of the *Pawlets*, and, as I am informed, deſire to lead many of your friends and kindred thither, whom, as I honour, I deſire to ſerve, I ſhall entreat you to believe me, as a gentleman and chriſtian, I write to you nothing but the truth, and hope there to take opportunity, in due ſeaſon to viſit you, and do all the good offices, in *Virginia*, my place and friends can ſerve you in: And thus tendering my ſervice, I reſt, madam, your honours moſt humble, faithful ſervant,

"*Robert Evelin.*"

"Now ſince maſter *Elmes's* letter, and ſeven years diſcoveries of the lord governor in perſon, and by honeſt traders with the *Indians*, we find, beſide the *Indian* kings, by him known and printed, in this province, there are, in all twenty-three *Indian* kings, or chief commanders, and beſides the number of eight hundred by him named, there are, at leaſt, one thouſand two hundred, under the *Raritan* kings, on the north ſide, next to *Hudſon's* river; and thoſe come down to the ocean, about *Little-egg-bay*, and *Sandy Barnegate*, and about the ſouth cape, two ſmall kings of forty men a piece, called *Tirans*, or *Tiaſcons*; and a third reduced to fourteen men, at *Roymount*: The *Suſquahannocks* are not now, of the naturals, left above one hundred and ten, though with their forced auxiliaries, the *Ihon-a-Does*, and *Wycomeſes*, they can make two hundred and fifty;—Theſe together are counted valiant and terrible to other cowardly dull *Indians*; which they beat with the ſight of guns only."

"The

In 1631, the *Swedes* erected a fort on the weſt ſide of *Delaware*, at a place near *Wilmington*, upon the river, or creek, which ſtill, from the name of the fort, is called *Chriſtina*, or *Chriſteen*, where they had laid out a town, and made their firſt ſettlement. 1631. The Swedes erect a fort at Chriſteen &c.

On

" The eighth ſeat is *Kildorpy*, near the falls of *Charles* river, near two hundred miles up from the ocean; it hath clear fields to plant and ſow; and near it are ſweet, large meads of *Clover*, or *Huney-ſuckle*, no where elſe in *America*, to be ſeen, unleſs tranſported from *Europe;* a ſhip of one hundred and forty tons may come up to theſe falls; which is the beſt ſeat for health, and a trading houſe to be built on the rocks; and ten leagues higher are *Lead-mines*, in ſtony hills."

" The ninth is called mount *Ployden*, the ſeat of the *Raritan* kings, on the north ſide of this province, twenty miles from *Sand-bay* ſea, and ninety from the ocean, next to *Amara-bill*, the retired *Paradiſe* of the children of the *Ethiopian* emperor, a wonder; for it is a ſquare rock, two miles compaſs, one hundred and fifty feet high, a wall-like precipice, a ſtrait entrance, eaſily made invinſible; where he keeps two hundred for his guard; and under it is a flat valley, all plain, to plant and ſow."

" The *Suſquehannock's* new town is alſo a rare, healthy and rich place, with it a chryſtal broad river; but ſome falls below hinder navigation; and the *Hook-hill*, on the ocean, with its clear fields, near *Hudſon's* river, on the ſouth ſide is much commended for health and fiſh, were it not ſo northerly."

" The bounds are one thouſand miles compaſs, of this moſt temperate rich province; for our ſouth bound, is *Marylands* north bound;—and beginning at *Aquats*, or the ſouthermoſt, or firſt cape of *Delaware* bay, in 38 degrees, 40 minutes, and ſo runneth by, or through, or including *Kent* iſle, through *Cheſapeak* bay, to *Piſcataway*, including the falls of *Potowmack* river, to the head, or northermoſt branch of that river, being three hundred miles due weſt; and thence northward to the head of *Hudſon's* river, fifty leagues; and ſo down *Hudſon's* river, to the ocean, ſixty leagues, and thence to the ocean and iſles acroſs *Delaware* bay, to the ſouth cape, fifty leagues; in all ſeven hundred and eighty miles. Then all *Hudſon's* river, iſles, Long-iſle, or *Pamunke*, and all iſles within ten leagues of the ſaid province being. And note, *Long-iſland* alone is twenty miles broad, and one hundred and eighty long; ſo that alone is four hundred miles compaſs. Now I have examined all former patents, ſome being ſurrendered, and ſome adjudged void, as gotton on falſe ſuggeſtions; as, that at the council table was, at maſter *Gonges* ſuit of *Mantachuſets;* and, as captain *Clayborn*, heretofore ſecretary, and now treaſurer, of *Virginia*, in diſpute with maſter *Leonard Calvert*, alledgeth; that of *Maryland* is likewiſe void, in part, as gotten on falſe ſuggeſtions; for, as captain *Clayborn* ſheweth, the *Maryland* patent, in the firſt part, declareth the king's intention to be, to grant a land, thereafter deſcibed, altogether diſhabited and unplanted, though poſſeſſed with *Indians*. Now *Kent-iſle* was with many houſeholds of *Engliſh* by captain *C. Clayborn* before ſeated; and becauſe his majeſty, by his privy ſignet, ſhortly after declared, it was not his intention to grant any lands before ſeated and habited: and for that it lyeth, by the *Maryland* printed card, clean northward, within *Albion*, and not in *Maryland:* and not only late ſeaman, but old Depoſitions

1631, &c. Swediſh improvements.

On the iſland *Tenecum*, in the river *Delaware*, ſixteen miles above this town, they built a fort, which they called *New Gottemburgh;* here their Governor, *John Printz*, had a fine ſettlement, which was named *Printz's Hall;* and on the ſame iſland the principal ſettlers had their plantations. They had alſo other forts, as at *Cheſter*, *Elſingburg* near Salem, &c.

1632. The firſt riſe of the colony of Maryland.

On the twentieth of June 1632, the young lord *Baltimore*, *Cæcilius Calvert*, obtained from king *Charles*, a grant of the unoccupied part of *Virginia*, from *Potowmack* river northward, including lands both on the eaſt and weſt ſide of *Cheſapeak;* of which his father, Sir *George Calvert*, Secretary of ſtate, had before received a promiſe, but died before the grant was made out; the king himſelf named it *Maryland*, in honor of his queen, *Henrietta Maria.*

1632. Situation and bounds of Maryland.

This province is ſituated between 37 and 40 degrees of north latitude, and according to the words of the patent,—'Tis all that part of a Peninſula, lying between the *ocean* on the eaſt, and the bay of *Cheſapeak*, on the weſt, and divided from the other part, by a right line, drawn from the cape, called *Watkins's point*, ſituated in the aforeſaid bay, near the river *Wigheo*, on the weſt, unto the main ocean, on

ſitions, in *Clayborn's* hand, ſhew it to be out of *Maryland:* and for that, *Albions* privy ſignet is elder, and before *Maryland* patent; *Clayborn*, by force, entered and thruſt out maſter *Calvert* out of *Kent;* next *Maryland* patent, coming to the ocean, ſaith, along by the ocean, upon *Delawan* bay; that is, the firſt cape of the two, moſt plain in view, and expreſſed in all the late *Engliſh* and *Dutch* cards; and *unto Delaware* bay is not *into* the bay, nor farther than the cape, heading the bay, being in 38 degrees, 40 minutes, or, at moſt, by ſeven obſervations I have ſeen, 38 degrees 50 minutes; ſo as undoubtedly, that is the true intended, and ground bound and line, and further; for the words following are not words of grant, but words of declaration, that is, *Which Delaware-bay lyeth in 40 degrees, where New-England ends;* theſe are both untrue, and ſo being declarative, as a falſe ſuggeſtion, is void; for no part of *Delaware* bay lyeth in 40 degrees; now if there were but the leaſt doubt of theſe true bounds, I ſhould wiſh, by conſent, or commiſſion, and perambulation and boundary; not but there is land enough for all; and I hold *Kent-iſle*, having lately but twenty men in it, and the mill and fort pulled down, and in war with all the *Indians* near it, is not worth the keeping."

on the eaſt; and between that bound, on the ſouth, unto that part of *Delaware* bay, on the north, which lies under the fortieth degree of north latitude, &c. and all that tract of land, from the aforeſaid bay of *Delaware*, in a right line, by the degree aforeſaid, to the true meridian of the firſt fountain of the river *Potowmack*, and from thence tending towards the ſouth, to the further bank of the aforeſaid river, and following the weſt and ſouth ſide of it, to a certain place called *Cinquack*, ſituated near the mouth of ſaid river, where it falls into the bay of *Cheſapeak*, and from thence by a ſtraight line, to the aforeſaid cape, called *Watkins's* point, &c."

Theſe are the bounds of *Maryland*, as expreſſed in the patent;—concerning which afterwards there was ſo long a diſpute between the Proprietaries of that province, and of *Pennſylvania;* ariſing principally from the different conſtruction of the words, expreſſing the boundary between them, made by each party, and of the intention of the ſaid grant: for, firſt, the extent of land, contained in the fortieth degree of latitude which was to be the north boundary of *Maryland*, by charter, was afterwards claimed by both provinces, as lying entirely within each of their reſpective grants; which made a very material difference.

1632. On the bounds between Maryland and Pennſylvania, &c.

Secondly, That part of the weſtern ſhore of *Delaware*, which appears to come within the bounds of Lord *Baltimore's* grant, had, long before this time, been poſſeſſed and inhabited by both *Dutch* and *Swedes* ſucceſſively; and was claimed by the former as a part of *New Netherland*, and was then actually in poſſeſſion of the latter; whereas it appears manifeſt, both from the *Maryland* patent, and the beſt documents, that only ſuch lands were intended to be granted to the Lord *Baltimore*, as were uncultivated, and uninhabited by any people except *Indians*.—But as this affair will be further mentioned in the following hiſtory of *Pennſylvania*, I ſhall only obſerve, in this

this place, that, in conſequence of this grant, the following year, the ſaid Lord *Baltimore* (being a *Roman Catholic*) carried ſeveral hundred perſons to his new colony, moſtly *Papiſts*, that there they might enjoy quietly the exerciſe of their religion.*

1654, &c. Of the Swedes on Delaware, Smith's hiſtory of New Jerſey.

John Printz, continued Governor of the *Swedes*, on *Delaware*, from his arrival till about the year 1654, when he returned to *Sweden*, having firſt deputed his ſon-in-law, *John Papegoia*, Governor in his ſtead; who alſo, ſometime after, returned to his native country, and left the government to *John Riſingh*.

It was during the adminiſtration of *Printz*, in in 1651, that the *Dutch* built fort *Caſimir*, now called *New Caſtle* on *Delaware*,† againſt which he ſolemnly

* "The year 1632 (ſays *Anderſon*, before quoted) gave riſe to the colony of *Maryland*, being a part of what was then reckoned *Virginia*. Sir *George Calvert*, ſecretary of ſtate, (he, or his ſon, being afterwards created lord *Baltimore*) having, in the years 1621 and 1622, obtained of king *James*, a grant of part of *Newfoundland*, he, ſome time after, removed thither, with his family; but he ſoon found it to be one of the worſt countries, in the habitable world. Whereupon he returned back to *England*, and, he being a conſcientious *Roman* catholic, (ſays ſir *William Keith*, in his hiſtory of *Virginia*) was inclined to retire, with his family, to ſome part of *Virginia*, there quietly to enjoy the free exerciſe of his religion; for which purpoſe he went thither himſelf;" (in, or about the year 1631) "but being diſcouraged by the univerſal diſlike, which he perceiving the people of *Virginia* had to the very name of a *Papiſt*, he left *Virginia*, and went further up the bay of *Cheaſpeak*; and finding there a very large tract of land, commodiouſly watered with many fine rivers, and not yet planted by any *Chriſtians*, he returned for *England*, and repreſented to the king, that the colony of *Virginia* had not, as yet, occupied any lands beyond the ſouth bound of *Potowmack* river; whereupon he obtained a promiſe of the king's grant, but dying before it was made out, his ſon Cæcilius took it out in his own name, on the twentieth of June, 1632; the king himſelf naming it *Maryland*, in honour of his queen, *Henrietta Maria*. It is held by the lords *Baltimore* of the crown, *in free and common ſociage, as of the kings honour of windſor, yielding and paying yearly for ever* (if demanded) *two Indian arrows*;—by which charter this lord proprietary has as plenary, or ſovereign, a power, as any in *America*; having the ſole right to all the quit rents of land therein, which he ſhall grant out to his *Land-holders*; who, however, are empowered by the crown, to lay on all proper taxes, &c. in their general courts, compoſed of their repreſentatives duly elected, and of the council: and the governor is always to be appointed by the ſaid lord proprietary, with the king's approbation, &c."

† This place, after it came into the hands of the *Engliſh*, was ſometimes called *Delaware* town.

ſolemnly proteſted; and afterwards *Riſingh* took it from them by ſtratagem. He likewiſe renewed the league of friendſhip with both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in the neighbourhood; and alſo with the *Indians*, at a meeting held with their chiefs, for that purpoſe, at *Printz's hall*, on *Tenecum Iſland*. Smith's hiſtory of New-York.

The *Indians* had before complained, that the *Swedes* had introduced much evil among them; in conſequence of which they alledged, that many of the *Indians*, ſince their coming were dead. But the *Swedes*, at this treaty, by making them preſents, and treating them kindly, removed their murmurings, renewed and fixed a more ſtrict and permanent friendſhip between them. Their chief, *Noamen*, expreſſed,—"That as formerly they had been but one body and one heart, they ſhould be henceforward as one head;—It was concluded with mutual engagements to aſſiſt, and ſtand by each other, in all future attempts, that ſhould be made againſt either party. This league, or agreement, is ſaid to have been faithfully kept by the *Indians*. Treaty between the Swedes and Indians.

But the *Dutch*, who, in the neighbouring ſettlement, had before been troubleſome, to the *Swedes*, in the year 1655, fitted out ſix or ſeven veſſels, from *New Amſterdam*, with ſix or ſeven hundred men; and, in the ſummer of this year, under the command of their Governor, *Peter Stuyveſant* came up *Delaware*, and compelled the *Swedes*, who were in an unprepared condition to oppoſe them, to deliver up their forts, on terms. They deſtroyed *New Gottemburg*, with ſuch houſes as were without the fort; plundering the inhabitants, and killing their cattle. The officers and principal inhabitants among the Swedes, were carried priſoners to *New Amſterdam*; and thence to *Holland;* but the common people, ſubmitting to the *Dutch*, remained in the conntry. Thus the *Dutch* became poſſeſſed again of that part of the weſt ſide of *Delaware* bay, &c. ſince called the *Three lower counties on Delaware*. The Dutch reduce the Swedes on Delaware, &c.

This

Smith's history of New York. This country was afterwards under the command of Lieutenant Governors, ſubject to the controul of, and commiſſioned by, the Director General of *New Amſterdam*, (now New York) *John Paul Jacquet* was the firſt Vice Director, or Lieutenant Governor, of *South River* (now *Delaware*) his ſucceſſors were *Alricks*, *Hinojoſſa* and *William Beekman*.

1657, &c. Ibid. Theſe Lieutenants had power to grant lands, and their patents made a part of the ancient titles of the preſent poſſeſſors. *Alricks's* commiſſion of the twelfth of April, 1657, ſhews the extent of the *Dutch* claim, on the weſt ſide of *Delaware*, at that time. He was appointed Director General of the Colony of *South river* of *New Netherlands*, and the fortreſs of *Caſimir*, now called *Niewer Amſtel*, (*New Caſtle*) with all the lands depending thereon, according to the firſt purchaſe and deed of releaſe of the natives, dated July nineteenth, 1651, beginning at the weſt ſide of the *Minquaas*, or *Chriſtina Kill*, in the *Indian* language, *Suſpecough*, to the mouth of the bay, or river, called *Bompt-hook*, in the *Indian* language, *Canaraſſe*; and ſo far inland as the bounds and limits of the *Minquaas* land, with all the ſtreams, &c. appurtenances and dependencies."

Extent of the Dutch claim on Delaware, &c.

Ibid. "Of the country northward of the *Kill* no mention is made. In 1658, orders were given to *William Beekman*, to purchaſe Cape *Hinlopen* from the natives; and to ſettle and fortify it; which, for want of goods, was not done till the ſucceeding year."

Lord Baltimore's claim on Delaware, &c. "In the year, 1659, freſh troubles aroſe from the *Maryland* claim to the lands on *South river*; and in September, Colonel *Nathaniel Utie*, as commiſſioner from *Fendal*, Lord *Baltimore's* Governor, arrived at *Niewer Amſtel*, from *Maryland*. The country was ordered to be evacuated; Lord *Baltimore* claiming all the land between 38 and 40 degrees of latitude, from ſea to ſea."

This

This claim of Lord *Baltimore* appears to have laid long undetermined, and, in Auguſt, 1663, a ſhip arrived from *Holland*, at *South river*, with new planters, ammunition and implements of huſbandry. Lord *Baltimore's* ſon landed a little after, and was entertained by *Beekman*, at *Niewer Amſtel*. This was *Charles*, the ſon of Cæcilius, who, in 1661, had procured a grant and confirmation of the patent paſſed in favor of his father in 1632. The papiſtical principles of the *Baltimore* family, the charge of colonizing, the parliamentary war with *Charles* the firſt, and *Oliver's* uſurpation, all conſpired to impede the ſettlement of *Maryland*, till the year 1661, and theſe conſiderations account for the extention of the *Dutch* limits on the weſt ſide of *Delaware*."

Impediments to the advancement of Maryland, &c. Ibid.

Thus till the year 1664, *New Sweden* and *New Netherland* continued in poſſeſſion, and under the government, of the *Dutch;* who, about one hundred and fifty miles up *Hudſon's* or *North river*, at their fort *Orange* (now *Albany*) are ſaid, then to have carried on a very profitable trade with the *Indians*, even, as far as *Quebec*.

Grant of K. Charles the ſecond to the Duke of York, &c.

King *Charles* the ſecond, having no great regard for the *Dutch*, and being determined to prevent the conſequences, that might ariſe from a ſettlement of that nation, in the midſt of the *Britiſh* colonies, granted a patent to his brother *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, dated March twentieth, 1664, for ſundry tracts of land, in *America*, including what the *Dutch* claimed under the name of *New Netherland*, thus deſcribed and bounded, *viz.*—" All that part of the main land of *New-England*, beginning at a certain place, called, or known, by the name of *St. Croix*, next adjoining to *New Scotland*, in America; and from thence extending along the ſea coaſt unto a certain place, *Pemaquie*, or *Pemaquid*, and ſo up the river thereof, to the furthermoſt head of the ſame, as it tendeth northward; and extending from thence to the river

Bounds of the grant.

of *Kimbequin*, and ſo upwards, and by the ſhorteſt courſe to the river Canada, northward: and alſo all that iſland, or iſlands, commonly called by the ſeveral name or names, of *Meitowacks*, or *Long Iſland*, ſituate and being towards the weſt of *Cape Cod*, and the narrow *Higanſetts*, abutting upon the main land, between the two rivers, there called or known by the ſeveral names of *Connecticut* and *Hudſon* rivers; and all the land from the weſt-ſide of *Connecticut* river to the eaſt ſide of *Delaware* Bay; and alſo all thoſe ſeveral Iſlands called or known by the name of *Martin's Vineyard* or *Nantucks*, otherwiſe *Nantucket*," &c.

Upon this Sir *Robert Carr*, joined in commiſſion with Colonel *Richard Nicolls*, *George Cartwright* and *Samuel Maverick*, were immediately ſent with a ſmall fleet and ſome land forces, to put the Duke in poſſeſſion of the country, which they accordingly effected; for coming upon the *Dutch* at unawares, and unprepared, they were obliged to ſurrender up the country, and their town of *New Amſterdam*, on *North river;* which was thence forward called *New-York*, in honor of the Duke of *York*.

Reduced under the Britiſh government.

Smith's hiſtory of New York, &c.

"*Cartwright* was commiſſioned to ſubdue the *Dutch*, at fort *Orange;* the garriſon capitulated on the twenty-fourth of September, and he called it *Albany*, from the Duke's *Scotch* title. While *Cartwright* was here, he had an interview with the *Indians* of the *Five nations*, and entered into a league of friendſhip with them, which remarkably continues to this day."

Firſt league of friendſhip with the Indians, &c.

The commiſſioners likewiſe ſent Sir *Robert Carr*, with the ſhips under his command, to reduce the inhabitants on *Delaware* bay and river; which he effected without much difficulty; for, on his arrival at *New Amſtel* (New Caſtle) the *Dutch* and *Swedes*, on the firſt of October, 1664, capitulated and ſurrendered their fort; ſix of the principal perſons

Inhabitants on Delaware reduced, &c.

ſons among them ſigning articles of agreement and ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh government.*

1664. Engliſh government at New-York, and on Delaware.

"The *Engliſh* being now poſſeſſed of all the country of *New Netherland*, Colonel *Richard Nicolls* took the government upon him, with the ſtile of *Deputy* Governor, under the Duke of *York*, of all his territories in *America*:"—very few of the inhabitants choſe to remove out of the country; and Governor *Stuyveſant* himſelf held his eſtate and died in it.

Smith's hiſtory of New Jerſey.

In the latter end of October, affairs being in a quiet ſituation at *New York*, *Nicolls* was commiſſioned by *Cartwright* and *Maverick*, to repair to *Delaware* bay, for the government of that place, by deputing ſuch officers, civil and military, and for taking ſuch other meaſures, as he ſhould think proper,

* Theſe articles were as follow, *viz.*

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT between the honorable Sir *Robert Carr*, knight, on behalf of his majeſty of *Great Britain*, and the *Burgo Maſters*, on behalf of themſelves and all the *Dutch* and *Swedes*, inhabitants on *Delaware* bay, and *Delaware* river.

1. "That all Burgeſſes and Planters will ſubmit themſelves to his Majeſty without any reſiſtance.

2. "That whoever, or what nation ſoever, doth ſubmit to his Majeſty's authority, ſhall be protected in their eſtates, real and perſonal whatſoever, by his Majeſty's laws and juſtice.

3. "That the preſent Magiſtrates ſhall be continued in their offices and juriſdictions, to exerciſe their civil power as formerly.

4. "That if any *Dutchman*, or other perſon, ſhall deſire to depart from this river, it ſhall be lawful for him ſo to do, with his goods, within ſix months after the date of theſe articles.

5. "That the Magiſtrates, and all the inhabitants (who are included in theſe articles) ſhall take the oaths of allegiance to his Majeſty.

6. "That all people ſhall enjoy the liberty of their conſciences, in Church diſcipline, as formerly.

7. "That whoever ſhall take the oaths, is, from that time, a free denizen, and ſhall enjoy all the privileges of trading into any of his Majeſty's dominions, as freely as any *Engliſhman*, and may require a certificate for ſo doing.

8. "That the *Schout*, the *Burgo Maſter*, *Sheriff* and other inferior Magiſtrates ſhall uſe and exerciſe their cuſtomary power, in adminiſtration of juſtice, within their precincts, for ſix months, or until his Majeſty's pleaſure is further known.

"*Dated October 1ſt.* 1664."

proper, till the King's pleaſure ſhould be further known. In which ſituation, affairs in this quarter, remained till the year 1668; when *Nicolls* and his Council, at *New York*, gave further directions, for a better ſettlement of the government on *Delaware*, which appears, at that time, to have been principally adminiſtered by *Carr;* who reſided on the place.*

The

* Theſe directions were:—

"That it is neceſſary to hold up the name and countenance of a garriſon, in *Delaware*, with twenty men, and one commiſſion officer.

"That the commiſſion officer ſhall undertake to provide all ſorts of proviſions for the whole garriſon, at the rate of five pence per day, *viz.* wholeſome bread, beer, peaſe, or beef, that no juſt complaint be made of either; that the ſoldiers (ſo far as conveniently may be) be lodged in the fort, and keep the ſtockades up, in defence; that the civil government, in the reſpective plantations, be continued till further orders.

"That, to prevent all abuſes, or oppoſitions, in civil Magiſtrates, ſo often as complaint is made, the commiſſion officer, captain *Carr*, ſhall call the *Schout*, with *Hans Block*, *Iſrael Holme*, *Peter Rambo*, *Peter Cock*, *Peter Aldrick*, or any two of them, as counſellors, to adviſe and determine, by the major vote, what is juſt, equitable and neceſſary, in the caſe and caſes, in queſtion.

"That the ſame perſons alſo, or any two or more of them, be called to adviſe and direct what is beſt to be done in all caſes of difficulty, which may ariſe from the *Indians*, and to give their council and orders, for the arming of the ſeveral plantations and planters, who muſt obey and attend their ſummons upon ſuch occaſion.

"That two-thirds, at leaſt, of the ſoldiers remain conſtantly in and about *Newcaſtle* at all hours.

"That the fines or premunires, and light offences be executed with moderation; though it is alſo neceſſary that ill men be puniſhed, in an exemplary manner.

"That the commiſſion officer captain *Carr*, in the determination of civil affairs, whereunto the temporary, before mentioned, counſellors are ordered, ſhall have a caſting voice, where votes are equal.

"That the new appointed counſellors are to take the oath to his *Royal Highneſs*.

"That the laws of the government, eſtabliſhed by his *Royal Highneſs* be ſhewed, and frequently communicated to the ſaid counſellors, and all others, to the end that, being therewith acquainted, the practice of them may alſo, in convenient time, be eſtabliſhed: which conduceth to the public welfare and common juſtice.

"That no offenſive war be made againſt any *Indians*, before you receive directions from the government for ſo doing.

"That in all matters of difficulty and importance, you muſt have recourſe, by way of appeal, to the Governor and Council at *New-York*.

"*Dated, the 21ſt. of April*, 1668."

The Duke of *York*, having been thus seized of all that tract of land, before described, did, by his deeds of lease and release, bearing date the 23d. and 24th. days of June 1664, in consideration of a competent sum of money, grant and convey a part thereof, unto *John*, Lord *Berkeley*, Baron of *Stratton*, and Sir *George Carteret*, of *Saltrum*, in *Devon;* who were then members of the King's Council, and to their heirs and assigns forever, bounded and described as follows:—"All that tract of land adjacent to *New-England*, and lying and being to the westward of *Long-Island*, and *Manhatta's-Island*, and bounded, on the east, part by the main sea, and part by *Hudson's* river; and hath upon the West, *Delaware* bay, or river; and extendeth southward to the main ocean, as far as cape *May*, at the mouth of *Delaware* bay; and to the northward, as far as the northermost branch of the said bay, or river, of *Delaware*, which is in 41 degrees, 40 minutes of latitude, and crosseth over thence, in a straight line, to *Hudson's* river, in 41 degrees, of latitude, which said tract of land is hereafter to be called *Nova Cæsaria*, or *New-Jersey*," &c. "in as full and ample manner as the same is granted unto the said Duke of *York*, by the before recited letters patent."

First rise, extent and bounds of New-Jersey.

Thus *New Netherland* became divided into *New-Jersey* and *New-York;* the former named from the isle of *Jersey*, in compliment to Sir *George Carteret*, whose family came from thence; the latter took its name in honor of *James* Duke of *York*.

New-Netherland divided into New-Jersey and New-York.

Lord *Berkeley* and Sir *George Carteret*, having agreed upon certain constitutions or concessions, to such adventurers as should chuse to settle within their grant, (which was the first constitution of *New Jersey*,*) appointed *Philip Carteret*, the first Governor;

Smith's history of New-Jersey.

* These concessions, or constitutions, may be seen in the appendix to Smith's history of *New-Jersey*, No 1.

Governor; who arrived in the latter part of the ſummer, 1665; and theſe conceſſions or agreements with the people, were ſo well liked by them, that the eaſtern parts of the province were ſoon conſiderably peopled. In this ſituation the conſtitution and government continued till the year 1676, when the province was divided into *Eaſt* and *Weſt New-Jerſey*.

After a prudent adminiſtration of three years *Nicolls* returned to *England;* and colonel *Francis Lovelace* was appointed, by the Duke, to ſucceed *Nicolls*, in the government of *New-York;* which
1667. he began to exerciſe in May, 1667. During his time affairs appear to have been in a tranquil ſituation, on *Delaware*, till about the year 1668; when a diſturbance happened from ſome of the tribe of *Mantas Indians*, nigh the river, about the place where *Burlington* now ſtands, who had murdered the ſervants of one of the ſettlers.

Tranſactions on Delaware reſpecting the Indians, &c.

This appears to have been the conſequence of *drunkenneſs;* by reaſon of the *Indians* themſelves *thereupon requeſting an abſolute prohibition, upon the whole river, of ſelling ſtrong liquors to the Indians generally.* Such were the early effects of ſtrong liquor among this people; which ever ſince has been ſo ruinous and fatal to them; and ſo frequently the ſource of pernicious evils to the *European* ſettlers, near them. Their ignorance of the nature and effects of drunkenneſs, to which at firſt they were abſolute ſtrangers, rendered them leſs prepared to reſiſt the temptation; and the extreme effects of madneſs, ariſing from intoxication, in a ſavage ſtate, were conſequently more unreſtrained and brutiſh; and, when enraged, more ſhocking and barbarous than among civilized people:—nevertheleſs, this requeſt of an abſolute prohibition of the ſale of ſtrong liquors among them, ſhews their ſenſe of the introduction of the temptation, their weakneſs to reſiſt it, and the beſt means, with them, to avoid the pernicious conſequences of it; which

requeſt, afterwards was, from time to time, frequently and earneſtly repeated by the different nations, in theſe parts, before they were much corrupted by this, and other *European* vices.

1668. Why the Indians are ſo prone to drunkenneſs, &c.

Human nature, when deſtitute of a good education, and thoſe benefits, which ariſe from a wiſe and early inſtitution in the beſt knowledge and cuſtoms, being the more prone to imbibe and indulge low, immediate and ſenſual gratifications, than when it is aided by theſe excellent advantages; which teach to aſpire after and purſue the more exalted and arduous paths of virtue and ſelf-denial; views, which, as well as the preſent, alſo reſpect a future more high and laſting felicity, ſo far above the untutored ideas of ſavages, is a conſideration, that may, in part, account for the greater depravity of the *Indians*, reſpecting this vice of drunkenneſs, than is to be found among other people.

Since the Europeans came among them.

Theſe *Indians*, along the *Delaware*, and the adjacent parts of *New-Jerſey* and *Pennſylvania*, ſo far as appears by the beſt accounts of the early ſettlement of theſe provinces, when clear of the effects of the pernicious poiſon of ſtrong liquor, and before they had much imbibed, and to their own natural depravity added, ſuch *European* vices as before they were ſtrangers to, were naturally, and in general, an inoffenſive, faithful and hoſpitable people.

Governor Lovelace gives directions to Carr, &c.

Governor *Lovelace* writ to *Carr*, reſpecting this affair; giving him directions how to proceed in the government both of *Chriſtians* and *Indians*; to conſult with the *Indians*, and to ſend the ſtate of the affair to the council at *New-York*. But it appears to have been afterwards neglected till the year 1671, when *William Tomm* and *Peter Alricks* arrived at *New-York* from *Delaware*, with the particulars of the affair; declaring that if ſpecial care was not taken, and effectual means uſed, the worſt conſequences would enſue.

Upon

Upon this the Governor and Council immediately took measures to prevent further mischief; and from *Alrick's* advice, made proper dispositions to bring the offenders to justice:—The Governor prohibited, on pain of death, the selling of powder, shot, and strong liquors to the *Indians;* and writ to *Carr*, on the occasion, to use the utmost vigilance and caution.

Remarkable act of Justice among the Indians.

But the *Indians* themselves were determined, if possible, to bring the murderers to justice; and and accordingly one of them *Tashiowycan*, the chief offender, was shot to death, in the night by the *Indians*, who brought his body to *Wicocoa;* which was afterwards hung in chains at *New-Castle;* the other principal person, concerned in the murder, hearing the report of the gun, ran into the woods, and made his escape, not being heard of afterwards.

The *Indians*, on this affair, summoned many of their young men together, and, in the presence of the *English*, told them, that all should in like manner be treated, who should be found in the like practice:—This, at a time, when the *Indians* were numerous and strong, and the *Europeans* few and weak, was a memorable act of justice, and a proof of true friendship to the *English*, greatly alleviating the fear, for which they had so much reason among savages, in this then wilderness country.

Other disturbances on Delaware, &c.

Beside this, there was another disturbance, about the same time; a *Swede*, at *Delaware*, who gave out that he was the son of *Conningsmarke*, the Swedish general, attempted to make an insurrection, in order to throw off the *English* allegiance. With him was associated *Henry Coleman*, one of the *Fins*, on the same river, a man of property, and who well understood the *Indian* language. But by the timely care and vigilance of the government their intention was prevented. The former was taken and secured; as to the latter, who kept himself among the *Indians*, it does not

not appear what became of him. *Conningsmarke*, commonly called the *Long Fin*, was condemned to die; but, in conſideration that his death would involve many other deluded people in deep ſuffering, his puniſhment was mitigated to a *whipping*, and branding with the letter *R.* for *Rebellion*, and to be ſent abroad. He was accordingly brought fettered from *Delaware*, and kept priſoner in the *Stadt-houſe*, at *New-York*, for one year, and then tranſported to *Barbadoes*, for ſale. It was further ordered, that the chief of his accomplices ſhould forfeit to the King one half of their goods and chattels; and a ſmaller mulct to be laid on the reſt; to be left at the diſcretion of Commiſſioners, appointed to examine the matter.

At this time there is likewiſe an account of an *Indian* rape, committed on a *Chriſtian* woman. The *Indian* was taken and condemned to death by by the Commiſſioners at *Delaware;* but he broke jail.—And one *Douglas* at *Hoarkill*, after this, for making a diſturbance among the new ſettlers, by ſeditious practices, was ſecured in jail, and afterwards ſent to *New-York*, where he had his trial; and was ſent to the eaſtward, and ordered not to return.

Near the beginning of the year 1669, a commiſſion and letters of inſtruction were ſent from *New-York*, to the *Hoarkill*, authorizing *Hermannus Frederickſon* to be *Schout*, *Slander Matſon*, *Otto Walgaſt*, and *William Cleaſon*, to be Commiſſioners: who were to keep good order there; and to try all matters of difference, under ten pounds, among themſelves:—Which ſeems to have been intended to ſave them the trouble of going to *Newcaſtle*, upon every trifling occaſion; but for all matters above ten pounds they were to apply themſelves to *New-York;* and ſo for all criminals. Governor *Lovelace* alſo gave an order to captain *Martin Prieger*, to receive the cuſtoms, for all *European*

1669. Further proceedings on Delaware, &c.

goods, imported at the *Hoarkill*, and on the *furs* and *peltry* exported from thence, *viz.* ten pounds per cent. in the following words:

1669. Appointment of Collecter, &c. at Hoarkill, or Lewis-town.

"Whereas I am given to understand, that all European goods imported at the *Hoarkill* in *Delaware* bay, did heretofore pay custom, at the rate of ten pounds per cent. and all *furs* and *peltry* exported from thence, at the same rate; which turned to some advantage towards the support of government; upon mature advice and consideration had thereof, I have thought fit to renew the former custom, and do, therefore, hereby order and appoint Captain *Martin Prieger*, who is a person well versed in the trade of those parts, and very well known there, both to the *Christians* and *Indians*, to be Receiver and Collector of the customs at *Hoarkill*; where, by himself, or his deputy, he is to receive ten per cent. of all *European* goods, imported there, whether coming from this place, Newcastle in *Delaware*, or any other parts; and ten per cent. also for all *furs*, or *peltry*, exported from thence, according to former custom and usage, on that behalf; and all persons whatsoever, trading thither, or from thence, to any other place, are to take notice thereof, and obey this my commission, under the penalty of confiscation of their goods, if they shall presume to do otherwise, the said Captain *Prieger* standing obliged to be answerable here, for all such customs, as shall be received by himself, or deputy, there; of which he is to render unto me a due and exact account."*

In

* *Hoarkill*, the settlement so called, from a small river, or creek, near *Cape-Inlopen*, or *Henlopen*, at the mouth of *Delaware* bay, was a place of considerable importance to the *Swedes*, about that time, though since chiefly become a residence for pilots only, and called *Lewis-town*; before which, at the entrance of the bay, is the road, for ships, &c.

This place (from an old M. S.) is said to have been named *Hoarkill* by the *Dutch*, from the *Indians* prostituting their young women to the *Netherlanders*:——otherwise it is by *David Pietersz de Vries*, who, about the year, 1630, first endeavoured to settle there, called *Swanendale*.

Other

In the Spring of the year 1672, the town of Newcaſtle was, by the government of *New-York*, made a corporation; to be governed by a Bailiff, and ſix Aſſociates; after the firſt year four old to go out, and four others to be choſen. The Bailiff was Preſident, and had a double vote: the Conſtable was choſen by the bench. They had power to try cauſes, as far as ten pounds, without appeal. The Engliſh laws were eſtabliſhed in the town, and among the inhabitants, on both ſides of *Delaware*. The office of *Schout* was converted into that of Sheriff, for the Corporation and river, annually choſen. And they were to have free trade, without being obliged to make entry at *New-York*, as before.

1672. New-Caſtle incorporated.

Smith's hiſtory of N. Jerſey.

About this time an act of violence was committed, at *Hoarkill*, by a party of people from *Maryland*, led by one *Jones;* who ſeized on the Magiſtrates and other inhabitants, plundered them and carried off the booty. They were joined by one *Daniel Brown*, a planter of *Hoarkill*. *Brown* was taken, and ſent to *New-York;* and there tried and convicted; but, on promiſe of amendment, and ſecurity given for his good behaviour in future, he was diſmiſſed.

The Marylanders diſturb the inhabitants at Hoarkill.

Governor *Lovelace* wrote a ſpirited letter to the Governor of *Maryland*, on the occaſion, complaining of the outrage and injuſtice, and requeſting that the perpetrators might be duly puniſhed. He likewiſe writ to Captain *Carr*, who preſided at *Delaware*, on the ſame affair, adviſing him, for the preſent, to paſs by what was done, till he heard from *England;* but in the mean time, that the inhabitants there ſhould prepare, and put themſelves

Governor Lovelace's conduct on the occaſion.

Other accounts affirm, That the original of the name aroſe from the winding and turning of the creek, much in the ſhape of a horn, whence the *Dutch* word, *Hoernkill:*——This is the tradition of the inhabitants there, &c. But ſoon after it came into the hands of the *Engliſh*, it took the above name of *Lewis-town:*——and the creek appears to be much diminiſhed, &c.

themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt any future ſimilar invaſion.*

In

* The firſt of theſe letters is dated the twelth of Auguſt 1672, and is as follows, *viz.*

"To *Philip Calvert*, Eſquire, Governor of *Maryland*.

"SIR,

"I thought it had been impoſſible, now in theſe portending boiſterous times, wherein all true hearted *Engliſhmen* are buckling on their armour, to vindicate their honors, and to aſſert the imperial intereſt of his ſacred Majeſty's rights and dominions; that now, without any juſt grounds, either given or pretended, ſuch horrid outrages ſhould be committed on his majeſty's liege ſubjects, under the protection of his Royal Highneſs's authority, as was exerciſed by one *Jones*; who, with a party, as diſſolute as himſelf, took the pains to ride to the *Hoarkills*, where in deriſion and contempt of the Duke's authority, he bound the Magiſtrates and inhabitants, deſpitefully treated them, rifled and plundered them of their goods; and when it was demanded, by what authority he acted, he anſwered in no other language, but a cocked piſtol to his breaſt; which if it had ſpoke, had, for ever ſilenced him. I do not remember I have heard of a greater outrage and riot, committed on his Majeſty's ſubjects, in *America*, but once before in *Maryland*; You cannot but imagine his Royal Highneſs will not be ſatisfied with theſe violent proceedings; in which the indignity rebounds on him; neither can you but believe it as eaſy an undertaking to me, to retaliate the ſame affront on *Jones's* head, and accomplices, as he did on thoſe indefenſible inhabitants: but I rather chuſe to have firſt a more calm redreſs from you; to whom I now appeal, and from whom I may, in juſtice, expect that right, in the caſtigation of *Jones cum ſociis*, that your nature and the law has provided for; otherwiſe I muſt apply myſelf to ſuch other remedies, as the exigence of this indignity ſhall perſwade me to; thus, leaving it to your conſideration, I ſhall remain your very humble ſervant,

"*Fr. Lovelace.*"

The following is his letter to *Carr*, on the ſame occaſion, *viz.*

"SIR,

"The letters you ſent me, by the expreſs over land, came ſafe to my hands, with the encloſed relation and papers, concerning the *Hoarkill*, and the *Marylanders* forceably poſſeſſing themſelves of the place; as alſo of the goods and eſtates of ſome of the inhabitants; of which we had ſome rumours before, but did not give much credit to it; ſuppoſing what was done before to be the raſh action of ſome private perſon; not thinking the authority of *Maryland* would invade his royal highneſs's territories; which he hath been poſſeſſed of for near eight years, without giving the leaſt overture of it to me, who am his Royal Highneſs's deputy. Their former violent action and force upon thoſe poor unarmed people, together with the particulars of their plunders, I had immediate opportunity of tranſmitting to his Royal Highneſs, by a ſhip then bound away for *London*; the which I made uſe of, and recommended their caſe; and I hope, it hath long ere this arrived at his hands, ſo that ſome directions, about it, may be expected in a ſhort time; till when, I think it beſt, for the preſent, to leave matters there as they are; but,

as

In this year the inhabitants of *New-Caſtle* and *Hoarkill*, being likewiſe plundered by the *Dutch* privateers, were permitted by the government at *New-York*, in reparation of their loſſes, to lay an impoſition to the value of four guilders, in *Wampum*, upon each anker of ſtrong rum, imported, or ſold there; power being given to the Magiſtrates, to levy and receive the ſame. This was to continue only one year for tryal—*Wampum* was the chief currency of the country; of which, at this time, the *Indians* had carried ſo much away, that it was become ſcarce. To encreaſe the value of which, the Governor and Council, at *New-York*, in the year 1673, iſſued a proclamation; which was publiſhed

Dutch privateers, &c.

Wampum their chief currency, &c.

as to the cloud, which hangs over your heads, at *Delaware*, which, it is ſaid, they are making preparations to invade, my inſtructions and orders to you, and the officers in general, are, that you put yourſelves in the beſt poſture of defence poſſibly you can, by fitting up the fort in the town; keeping your companies in arms, both there and up the river; who are to provide themſelves with fitting ammunition; and that all ſoldiers be at an hours warning, upon any alarm, or order given; and that, at the town eſpecially, you make your guards as ſtrong as you can, and keep a ſtrict watch; and if any enemy come to demand the place, that you firſt deſire to know their authority and commiſſion, and how it comes to paſs thoſe of *Maryland* ſhould now make ſuch an invaſion, after ſo long quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe parts by his Royal Highneſs's Deputies, under his Majeſty's obedience, and by other nations before that, ſeveral years before the date of the Lord *Baltimore's* patent; whom they never diſturbed by arms; and whoſe right is now devolved upon the Duke. Stand well upon your guard, and do not begin with them; but, if they firſt break the peace, by firing upon your guards, or any ſuch hoſtile action, then uſe all poſſible means to defend yourſelves and the place; and command all his Majeſty's good ſubjects to be aiding and aſſiſting to you; who, I hope, will not be wanting to their abilities. In all matters of concern, you are to take advice of the chief officers there.

"This will come to you by your *Bailiff*, Mr. *Peter Alricks*, who is haſtening over land, to ſecure his affairs there, in this portending invaſion, and to give his beſt help for the ſafeguard of the place, and his Royal Highneſs's intereſt, upon all occaſions. Fail not to ſend an expreſs to me, by whom I ſhall give you ſuch further directions and aſſiſtance as will be requiſite; and, if occaſion ſhould be, will come over myſelf in perſon; though the ſpring would be more ſuitable for me, than a winter voyage; ſo recommending all things to your care and vigilance, of which I expect a good account, I conclude, being your very loving friend,

"*Francis Lovelace.*

"*Fort James, in New-York, this 7th. of October, 1672.*"

liſhed at *Albany*, *Eſopus*, *Delaware*, *Long-Iſland*, and parts adjacent.*

1673. New-York &c. taken by the Dutch.

The ambitious deſigns of *Lewis* the XIVth. king of *France*, againſt the *Dutch*, and the attachment of *Charles* the IId. of *England*, to the *French* court, gave riſe to the war with the *States General* in 1672; which, in the ſummer of the next following year, extended itſelf to *America;* when a few *Dutch* ſhips arrived at *New York*, under the command of Commodores *Cornelius Evertſe* and *Jacob Benkes* &c. The fort ſurrendered without any reſiſtance, all the magiſtrates and conſtables from *Eaſt Jerſey*, *Long Iſland*, *Eſopus* and *Albany* were immediately ſummoned to *New-York*, and the major part of them ſwore allegiance to the *States General* and the prince of *Orange*, upon which colonel *Lovelace* returned to *England.*

Smith's hiſtory of N. York.

From the *Dutch* records it appears that deputies were ſent by the people, inhabiting the country, even, as far weſtward as *Delaware* river; who in the name of their principals, made a declaration of their ſubmiſſion; in return for which certain privileges were granted them, and three judicatories erected at *Niewer Amſtel*, *(New Caſtle) Upland (Cheſter) and Hoarkill*, *(Lewiſtown)* under *Anthony Colve*, who was commiſſioned Governor.†

The

* "This is the *Indian* money, by them called *Wampum;* by the *Dutch*, *Sewant*. It is worked out of ſhells, into the form of beads, and perforated to ſtring on leather. Six beads were formerly valued at a *Stiver;* twenty *Stivers* made what they called a *Guilder;* which was about ſixpence currency, or four pence, ſterling. The white *Wampum* was worked out of the inſide of the great *Conques*. The black, or purple, was formed out of the inſide of the *Muſſle*, or *Clam-ſhell*. Theſe, being ſtrung on leather, are ſometimes formed into belts, about four inches broad, and thirty in length; which are commonly given and received at treaties, as ſeals of friendſhip.—*Wampum* has been long made by certain poor *Indian* families at *Albany;* who ſupport themſelves by coining this caſh for the traders."

† *Colve's* commiſſion, tranſlated as follows, ſhews the extent of the *Dutch* claim, at that time in this country, viz.

"The honourable and awful council of war, for their High Mightineſſes, the States General of the United Netherlands and his Serene Highneſs

1674. By the peace, New-York, &c. is restored to the English, &c.

The *Dutch* Governor enjoyed his office but a short time; for, on the 9th. of February 1674, the treaty of peace between *England* and the *States General* was signed at *Westminster;* the sixth article of which restored this country to the *English;* the terms of it were generally, "that whatsoever countries, islands, towns, ports, castles or forts, have or shall be taken, on both sides, since the time that the late unhappy war broke out, either in *Europe*, or elsewhere, shall be restored to the former Lord and Proprietor, in the same condition, they shall be in, when the peace itself shall be proclaimed; after which time there shall be no spoil nor plunder of the inhabitants, no demolition of fortifications, nor carrying away of guns, powder or other military

Highness the Prince of *Orange*, over a squadron of ships, now at anchor in Hudson's river, in *New Netherlands;* to all those who shall see or hear these *Greeting*. As it is necessary to appoint a fit and able person to carry the chief command over the conquest of *New Netherlands*, with all its appendencies, from cape *Hinlopen* on the south side of the *South* or *Delaware* bay, and fifteen miles more southerly, with the said bay and *South river*, included, so as they were formerly possessed by the directors of the city of *Amsterdam*, and after by the *English* government, in the name and right of the Duke of *York*, and further from the said Cape Hinlopen along the Great Ocean to the east end of *Long Island* and *Shelter Island*, from thence westward to the middle of the sound, to a town called *Greenwich*, on the Main, and to run landward in northerly; provided that such line shall not come within ten miles of *North River*, conformable to a Provincial Treaty, made in 1650, and ratified by the States General, February 22d. 1656, and January 23d. 1664; with all Lands, Rivers, Lakes, Kills, Creeks, Fresh and Salt Waters, Fortresses, Cities, Towns and Plantations, therein comprehended. So it is, that we, being sufficiently assured of the capacity of *Anthony Colve*, captain of a company of foot, in the service of their High Mightinesses, the States General of the *United Netherlands*, and his Serene Highness the Prince of *Orange*, &c. by virtue of our Commission, granted us by their before mentioned High Mightinesses, and his Highness, *have* appointed and qualified, as we do by these presents, appoint and qualify, the said captain *Anthony Colve* to govern and rule the lands, with the appendencies and dependencies thereof as Governor General; to protect them from all invasions of enemies, as he shall judge most necessary; hereby charging all high and low officers, justices and magistrates, and others in authority, soldiers, burghers, and all the inhabitants of this land, to acknowledge, honour, respect and obey, the said *Anthony Colve*, as Governor General; for such we judge necessary for the service of the country, waiting the approbation of our principals. This done at fort *William Hendrick*, the 12th. day of August, 1673."

Signed by

CORNELIUS EVERTSE, junior.

JACOB BENKES.

tary ſtores, which belonged to any caſtle or fort, at the time when it was taken."

Edm. Andros, appointed Governor of New York, &c.

Upon concluſion of the peace, in 1674, the Duke of *York*, to remove all controverſy reſpecting his property, obtained a new patent from the King, dated the 29th. of June, for the lands granted, in 1664; and two days after commiſſioned *Major*, afterwards, Sir *Edmund Andros* to be Governor of his territories in *America;* which were reſigned to him by the *Dutch* poſſeſſors, on his arrival at *New-York*, on the 31ſt. of October following. Upon which he authorized captain *Cantwell* and *William Tomm*, to take poſſeſſion of the fort and ſtores at *Newcaſtle*, for the King's uſe; and gave them directions to take proper meaſures to eſtabliſh order and tranquility there, and the other places on *Delaware;* enjoining all to comport themſelves amicably to the neighbouring colonies.

Of Weſt-New-Jerſey, &c.

W. Penn concerned in the ſettlement of Weſt-New-Jerſey, &c.

As *Weſt New Jerſey* was, at firſt, ſettled principally by the ſame kind of people as *Pennſylvania*, was afterwards, *viz.* by the people called *Quakers*, ſo a ſhort introductory account of the firſt and early ſettlement of that colony by theſe people, &c. in which likewiſe *William Penn* was ſo much concerned may, in this place, not be improper.

1675. Lord Berkeley ſells Weſt-Jerſey, &c.

In or about the year 1675, the Lord *Berkeley* ſold his half of the Province of *New Jerſey* to a perſon named *John Fenwicke*, in truſt for *Edward Byllinge*, and his aſſigns, in conſequence of which the former, this year, arrived with a number of paſſengers, in a ſhip, called the *Griffith* from *London*, on a viſit to his new purchaſe.* He landed at

* Both *Fenwicke* and *Byllinge* are ſaid to have been of the people called *Quakers;* reſpecting whoſe particular characters, nothing very material appears.—*Fenwicke* brought with him two daughters, and many ſervants:—two of the latter, *viz. Samuel Hodge* and *John Adams* afterwards married his daughters. Some of the others in this ſhip, were Edmund Champneſs, Fenwicke's ſon in law, Edward Wade, Samuel Wade, John Smith and wife, Samuel Nicholſon, Richard Guy, Richard Noble, Richard Hancock, John Pledger, Hipolite Luſever, and John Matlack; theſe, and others with them, were maſters of families.

a place, in *Weſt Jerſey*, ſituated upon a creek, or ſmall river, which runs into the river *Delaware;* to which place he gave the name of *Salem;* a name which both the place and creek ſtill retain. This was the firſt *Engliſh* ſhip, which came to *Weſt-Jerſey;* and it was near two years before any more followed: This long interval is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by a diſagreement between *Fenwicke* and *Byllinge;* which was at laſt compoſed by the kind offices of *William Penn.*

First Engliſh ſhip arrives at W. Jerſey.

Byllinge, having been reduced in his circumſtances, had agreed to preſent his intereſt, in *New-Jerſey*, to his creditors; by whoſe entreaty and importunity, *William Penn*, though it is ſaid, with reluctance, was prevailed upon to become joint truſtee with two of them, *viz. Gawen Lawrie*, of *London*, and *Nicholas Lucas*, of *Hertford*, for the management thereof: Theſe he inveſted with his own moiety of the province; it being all his remaining fortune, for the ſatisfaction of his creditors.

Names of the proprietors.

Hence *William Penn* became one of the chief inſtruments in ſettling *Weſt-New-Jerſey;* and thereby acquired ſome knowledge of the adjacent country of *Pennſylvania*, before it had that name, or was granted to him. And though *New-Jerſey* was ſtill undivided, yet, from neceſſity, many ſhares of their propriety were ſoon ſold to different purchaſers; who conſequently alſo became proprietors, in proportion to their different ſhares.

1675.

For the better promoting the diſtribution of rights to lands, an orderly ſettlement, and a regular government of the colony, in March, 1676, a conſtitution was drawn up, under the name of, "*Conceſſions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of Weſt-New-Jerſey, in America,*" in 44 chapters; this was mutually agreed to, and ſigned, as laws, conceſſions and agreements,

1676. Proceedings reſpecting W. N. Jerſey.

ments, by 162 names; and may be ſeen in the appendix to S. Smith's hiſtory of *New-Jerſey.*

Diviſion of New-Jerſey, into Eaſt and Weſt, &c.

William Penn and the others, having agreed on a diviſion of the province with Sir *George Carteret*, a *Quintipartite deed*, the inſtrument for dividing the ſame, between Sir *George Carteret*, on the one part, and *Edward Byllinge*, *William Penn*, *Gawen Lawrie* and *Nicholas Lucas*, on the other part, was ſigned by them, dated the firſt day of July, 1676. After which the latter wrote to *Richard Hartſhorne*,* a reſident in the province, requeſting his conſent to be joined in commiſſion with two others, *James Waſſe* and *Richard Guy;* whom they authorized and empowered to act for them, furniſhing them with inſtructions for their conduct, and engaged to ratify and confirm their proceedings, in proſecution of the ſame. In their letter to *Hartſhorne*, dated, *London*, the 26th. of the ſixth month, 1676, they ſay,

Extract of the proprietor's letter to R. Hartſhorne.

1. "We have divided with *George Carteret;* and have ſealed deeds of partition, each to the other; and we have all that ſide on *Delaware* river, from one end to the other; the line of partition is from the eaſt ſide of *Little Egg Harbour*, ſtraight North, through the country, to the utmoſt branch of *Delaware* river; with all powers, privileges and immunities whatſoever:"—"Ours is called *New Weſt Jerſey;* his is called *New Eaſt Jerſey.*†

2. "We

* *Richard Hartſhorne* lived in *Middletown*, in *Eaſt-Jerſey;* he was one of the people called *Quakers*, of good reputation, public character, and of a benevolent diſpoſition, in thoſe early times. He came thither from *London*, in the ſeventh month, old ſtyle, 1669; where he lived many years. There are ſeveral of his deſcendants, ſtill inhabitants of theſe parts.

† The diviſion line between *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Jerſey*, as it was afterwards run and marked out, about the year 1687, and agreed to, in the next following year, by *Coxe* and *Barclay*, the reſpective Governors of each diviſion, more particularly, proceeded from *Little Egg Harbour*, N. by W. and 30 degrees and 5 minutes more weſterly 60 miles, to the corner of John Dobie's plantation, on the ſouth branch of *Raritan* river; from thence continuing behind that and other plantations, to that of *James Dundas:* It proceeded

2. "We have made *conceſſions* by ourſelves; being ſuch as *Friends* here, and there (we queſtion not) will approve of, having ſent a copy of them by *James Waſſe:* There we lay a foundation for after ages to underſtand their liberty, as men and chriſtians; that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own conſent: for we put the power in the people; *that is to ſay*, They to meet, and chooſe one honeſt man, for each propriety, who hath ſubſcribed to the *conceſſions;* all theſe men to meet, as an Aſſembly there, to make and repeal laws; to chuſe a Governor, or a Commiſſioner, and twelve Aſſiſtants, to execute the laws during their pleaſure. So every man is capable to chuſe, or to be choſen; no man to be arreſted, condemned, impriſoned, or moleſted, in his eſtate, or liberty, but by twelve men of the neighbourhood: no man to lie in priſon for debt; but that his eſtate ſatisfy, as far as it will go, and he be ſet at liberty, to work: no man to be called in queſtion, or moleſted for his conſcience; with many more things mentioned in the ſaid conceſſions.

3. "We have ſent over, by *James Waſſe*, a commiſſion, under our hands and ſeals; wherein we empower *thyſelf*, *James Waſſe* and *Richard Guy*, or any two of you, to act and do according to the inſtructions, of which here is a copy; having alſo ſent you goods, to buy and purchaſe ſome lands of the natives," &c.

The reſt of this letter chiefly reſpected *John Fenwicke;* who, as they apprehended, might probably

proceeded from the moſt north weſterly part thereof, north-eaſtward, to the north branch of ſaid river; thence by the largeſt branch thereof, to its north end; from thence to the neareſt part of *Paſaick* river; whence following its courſe, and that of *Paquanick* river, ſo long as it runs northerly, or northweſterly; thoſe rivers ſtill being the bounds between both provinces; and if the latter do not run far enough to the latitude of 41 degrees, then from ſaid river, by a ſtraight line northward to the latitude, the utmoſt north partition point, from which point, a ſtraight line drawn due eaſt, to the partition point, on *Hudſon's* river, to be the boundary between *Eaſt-Jerſey* and *New York.*"

S. Smith's hiſtory of New-Jerſey.

endeavour to obſtruſt their mode of proceeding, in ſettling the colony; that the Commiſſioners ſhould immediately agree with the *Indians* for lands, and get them ſurveyed and taken up, before many more people arrived, and the price thereby advanced. The inſtructions were dated the 18th. of the Sixth month, and purported the method of treating with *John Fenwicke;* the mode of taking up lands of the natives;—Which was all to be divided into one hundred parts, as agreed in *England*, and lots to be caſt for the ſame; *viz.* ninety parts, for the uſe of *William Penn*, *Gawen Lawrie* and *Nicholas Lucas;* and ten parts for *John Edridge* and *Edmond Warner*, *Fenwicke's* heirs;* and to provide a place for the ſettlement of a town, &c. The former was ſigned by *Lawrie*, *Penn*, *Lucas*, *Byllinge*, *Edridge* and *Warner;* the latter, by all theſe, except *Edridge.*

Eaſt-Jerſey, which was the property of Sir *George Carteret*, had, before this time, been conſiderably peopled, under its Governor, *Philip Carteret*, as already mentioned, in the year 1665; ſo upon the diviſion of the province being now ſettled, in the preſent year 1676, the proprietors of *Weſt-New-Jerſey* publiſhed a deſcription of the country; in conſequence of which many people removed thither.

Proprietors of Weſt-Jerſey were Quakers.

But the weſtern proprietors being of the people called *Quakers*, their part of the province conſequently, through their influence, became ſettled principally by the ſame kind of people; but to prevent any of their religious ſociety from raſhly, or inadvertently, removing into this new country, or without due conſideration, and contrary to the mind of their parents and neareſt relatives, three of the principal perſons among the proprietors, *viz. W. Penn*,

* To theſe two perſons the ſaid ten parts had been conveyed by *Fenwicke;* being together with a certain ſum of money, the proportion, or ſatisfaction, agreed on between him and *Byllinge*, and conveyed to him by the latter, for his ſervice and trouble, in the concern.

Penn, *G. Lawrie* and *N. Lucas*, wrote an epiſtle, of caution to their friends, the *Quakers;* which, as it further ſhews their right to this part of the province, the care of that people over one another, at that time, and their concern for an orderly ſettlement in it; that none might be deceived, and have occaſion to repent of ſuch an important undertaking, is not unworthy of the peruſal of the poſterity and deſcendants of thoſe early adventurers, ſettlers and cultivators of the country.*

Their concern for an orderly ſettlement, &c.

On

* This epiſtle was as follows, *viz.*

" *Dear Friends and Brethren,*

" In the pure love and precious fellowſhip of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt we very dearly ſalute you;—Foraſmuch as there was a paper printed ſeveral months ago, entitled, " *The deſcription of New-Weſt-Jerſey*, in which our names were mentioned, as Truſtees for one undivided moiety of the ſaid province; and becauſe it is alledged, that ſome, partly on this account, and others apprehending that the paper, by the manner of its expreſſion, came from the body of Friends, as a religious ſociety of people, and not from particulars, have, through theſe miſtakes, weakly concluded, that the ſaid deſcription, in matter and form, might be writ, printed and recommended on purpoſe to prompt and allure people to diſ-ſettle and tranſplant themſelves, as its alſo by ſome alledged; and becauſe we are informed that ſeveral have, on that account, taken encouragement and reſolution to tranſplant themſelves and families to that province; and leſt any of them (as is feared by ſome) ſhould go out of a curious and unſettled mind; and others to ſhun the teſtimony of the bleſſed *Croſs* of *Jeſus;* of which ſeveral weighty friends have a godly jealouſy upon their ſpirits, leſt an unwarrantable forwardneſs ſhould act or hurry, any beſide, or beyond, the wiſdom and counſel of the Lord, or the freedom of his light and ſpirit, in their own hearts, and not upon good and weighty grounds; it truly laid upon us to let Friends know how the matter ſtands; which we ſhall endeavour to do with all clearneſs and fidelity.

1. " That there is ſuch a place as *New-Jerſey* is certain.

2. " That it is reputed of thoſe, who have lived and travelled in that country to be wholeſome of air, and fruitful of ſoil, and capable of ſea trade, is alſo certain; and it is not right, in any, to deſpiſe it, or diſſwade thoſe, that find freedom from the *Lord*, and neceſſity put upon them, on going.

3. " That the Duke of *York* ſold it to thoſe called Lord *Berkeley*, Baron of *Stratton*, and Sir *George Carteret;* equally to be divided between them, is alſo certain.

4. " One moiety, or half part, of the ſaid province, being the right of the Lord *Berkeley*, was ſold by him to *John Fenwicke*, in truſt for *Edward Byllinge*, and his aſſigns.

5. " Foraſmuch as *Edward Billinge* (after *William Penn* had ended the difference between *E. Byllinge* and *J. Fenwicke*) was willing to preſent his intereſt, in the ſaid province, to his creditors, as all that he had left him

1677. Arrival of the Kent, &c. On the 16th. day of the Sixth month 1677, arrived at *New-Caſtle* from *London*, the ſhip *Kent*, *Gregory Marlow*, maſter; with the other Commiſſioners; which the proprietors had before mentioned,

him, towards their ſatisfaction, he deſired *W. Penn* (though every way unconcerned) and *Gawen Lawrie* and *Nicholas Lucas*, two of his creditors, to be truſtees, for performance of the ſame; and becauſe ſeveral of his creditors, particularly and very importunately preſſed *W. Penn* to accept of the truſt, for their ſakes and ſecurity, we did, all of us, comply with theſe, and the like requeſts, and accepted of the truſt.

6. " Upon this we became truſtees for one moiety of the ſaid province, yet undivided; and after no little labour, trouble and coſt, a diviſion was obtained between the ſaid Sir *George Carteret* and us, as truſtees: the country is ſituated and bounded, as is expreſſed in the printed deſcription.

7. " This now divided moiety is to be caſt into one hundred parts, lots or proprieties; ten of which, upon the agreement, made betwixt *E. Billinge* and *J. Fenwicke*, his executors and aſſigns, with a conſiderable ſum of money by way of ſatisfaction, for what he became concerned in the purchaſe from the ſaid Lord *Berkeley*, and by him afterwards conveyed to *John Edridge* and *Edmond Warner*, their heirs and aſſigns.

8. " The ninety parts remaining are expoſed to ſale; on behalf of the creditors of the ſaid *Edward Byllinge*. And forasmuch ſeveral friends are concerned as creditors, as well as others, and the diſpoſal of ſo great a part of this country being in our hands; we did in real tenderneſs and regard to friends, and eſpecially to the poor and neceſſitous, make friends the firſt offer; that if any of them, though particularly thoſe, who being low in the world, and under trials about a comfortable livelihood for themſelves and families, ſhould be deſirous of dealing for any part or parcel thereof, that they might have the refuſal.

9. " This was the real and honeſt intent of our hearts, and not to prompt, or allure any out of their places, either by the credit our names might have with our people throughout the nation, or by repreſenting the thing otherwiſe than it is in itſelf.

" As to the printed paper, ſome time ſince ſet forth by the creditors, as a deſcription of that province, we ſay, as to two paſſages in it, they are not ſo clearly and ſafely worded as ought to have been; particularly in ſeeming to hint, the *Winter* ſeaſon to be ſo ſhort a time; when, on further information, we hear it is ſometimes longer, and ſometimes ſhorter, than therein expreſſed; and the laſt clauſe, relating to liberty of conſcience, we would not have any to think, that it is promiſed or intended, to maintain the liberty of the exerciſe of religion by force of arms; though we ſhall never conſent to any the leaſt violence on conſcience; yet it was never deſigned to encourage any to expect by force of arms, to have liberty of conſcience fenced againſt invaders thereof.

" And be it known unto you all, in the name and fear of Almighty God, his Glory and Honor, Power and Wiſdom, Truth and Kingdom, is dearer to us, than all viſible things; and as our eye has been ſingle, and our hearts ſincere, in the living God, in this, as in other things, ſo we deſire all, whom it may concern, that all groundleſs jealouſies may be judged down, and watched againſt; and that all extremes may be avoided, on all hands, by the power of the Lord; that nothing which hurts

mentioned, they intended to ſend. Their names were, *Thomas Olive*, *Daniel Wills*, *John Kinſey*, *Joſeph Helmſley*, *Robert Stacy*, *Benjamin Scott*, *Richard Guy*, and *Thomas Foulke*. They were empowered to purchaſe lands of the *Indians;* to inſpect the rights of ſuch as claimed property; to give directions for the laying out the lands; and, in general, to adminiſter the government, according to the *conceſſions.** Names of the Commiſſioners.

The

hurts or grieves the holy life of truth in any that goes or ſtays, may be adhered to, nor any provocation given to break precious unity.

" This am I, *William Penn*, moved of the Lord to write unto you, leſt any bring a temptation upon themſelves, or others; and, in offending the Lord, ſlay their own Peace. Bleſſed are they that can ſee and behold him their Leader, their Orderer, their Conductor and Preſerver in ſtaying and going; whoſe is the earth and the fulneſs thereof, and the cattle upon a thouſand hills. And, as we formerly writ, we cannot but repeat our requeſt unto you, that, in whomſoever a deſire is to be concerned in this intended plantation, ſuch would weigh the thing before the Lord, and not headily, or raſhly, conclude on any ſuch remove; and that they do not offer violence to the tender love of their near kindred and relations, but ſoberly and conſcientiouſly endeavour to obtain their *good wills;* the unity of friends, where they live; that, whether they go, or ſtay, it may be of good ſavour before the Lord, and good people; from whom only can all heavenly and earthly bleſſings come;—This we thought good to write, for the preventing all miſunderſtandings, and to declare the real truth of the matter; and ſo we recommend you all to the Lord, who is the watchman of his Iſrael. We are your real friends and brethren.

WILLIAM PENN.
GAWEN LAWRIE.
NICHOLAS LUCAS.

* Of theſe Commiſſioners, *Richard Guy* came in the firſt ſhip; *John Kinſey* died at *Shackamaxon*, (the *Indian* name of the place, where *Kenſington* ſtands, near *Philadelphia*) ſoon after his landing.

Among the purchaſers of the *Weſt-Jerſey* lands, were two companies, both conſiſting of friends, or *Quakers;* the one of perſons from *Yorkſhire*, the other from *London*. Theſe contracted for large ſhares, and had patents for them.—See the conceſſions, in Smith's appendix to the hiſtory of *New-Jerſey*, No. 2, &c.

Thoſe of the county of *York*, were, *Thomas Hutchinſon* of *Beverly*, *Thomas Pearſon* of *Bonwicke*, *Joſeph Helmſley* of *Great Kelke*, *George Hutchinſon* of *Sheffield*, and *Mahlon Stacy* of *Hanſworth*. All theſe were principal creditors of *Edward Byllinge;* and to theſe, ſeveral of the other creditors made aſſignments of their debts, which together amounted to 3500 pounds ſterling; and they took, in ſatisfaction for the ſum, one-tenth part of *Weſt-Jerſey;* which was conveyed to them by *William Penn*, *Gawen*

Paſſengers on board the *Kent*, &c.

The number of paſſengers in this ſhip, was two hundred and thirty, moſtly of the people called *Quakers;* and ſome of them had good eſtates in *England.* They landed about *Rackoon* creek, on *Delaware;* where the *Swedes* had ſome ſcattered habitations, but inſufficient to receive, or accommodate them. This was the ſecond ſhip, which arrived at *Weſt-Jerſey* with paſſengers. As this ſhip lay in the river *Thames*, with the paſſengers on board, ready to ſail, king *Charles* the ſecond, in his pleaſure barge, coming along ſide, and obſerving a great number of people on board, and being informed where they were bound, aſked whether they were all *Quakers*, and gave them his bleſſing.

They anded at Rackoon-creek, &c.

The Commiſſioners treat with the *Indians*, &c.

After their arrival, the Commiſſioners proceeded further up the river, to the place where *Burlington* was afterwards built, then called *Chygoe's-Iſland*, from an *Indian* ſachem, who lived there. Here they treated with the *Indians*, and entered on the regulation of their ſettlements; for which, beſides the commiſſion of the proprietors, they had likewiſe obtained that of Governor *Androſs;* on whom, in their paſſage, they had waited, at *New-York*, to acquaint him with their buſineſs; who, as he had received no inſtructions from the duke of *York*, in the caſe, was unwilling to ſurrender the government of the place to them, without an order from the Duke. He had continued Governor of this country, ſince the *Dutch* ſurrender of it to the King, in 1673; and though the Duke ſoon after had a re-grant of it, as before obſerved, yet it was not till the year, 1678, that he, in conſequence thereof, made a new grant of *Weſt-Jerſey* to the aſſigns

Gawen Lawrie and *Nicholas Lucas*, and *Edward Byllinge*, in two different deeds, dated the firſt of the month called March, 1676.

Smith's hiſtory of New-Jerſey.

The *Yorkſhire* Commiſſioners were *Joſeph Helmſley*, *William Emley*, and *Robert Stacy*;—thoſe of *London*, were *John Penford*, *Thomas Olive*, *Daniel Wills* and *Benjamin Scott.*

Ibid.

aſſigns of Lord *Berkeley*, as well as alſo of *Eaſt-Jerſey*, to *Carteret*, the proprietor of the ſame.

The Commiſſioners procured interpreters from the *Swedes*, *Iſrael Helmes*, *Peter Rambo*, and *Lacy Cock*; and afterwards *Henrie Jacobſon Falcombre*: They made divers purchaſes of lands from the *Indians*; but not having goods ſufficient to pay for all they bought, they agreed not to ſettle any part, till it was paid for.*

Burlington laid out, &c.

The town of *Burlington* was laid out by mutual agreement of the proprietors; and by the Commiſſioners, it was firſt named *New-Beverly*; but ſoon after it got the name of *Burlington*. It was firſt ſettled by a conſiderable number of reputable families, from *Yorkſhire*, and other places in England;† a freſh

S. Smith, &c.

* *Thomas Olive*, the firſt mentioned of theſe Commiſſioners, by the *Kent*, was afterwards Governor of *Weſt-Jerſey*, and in other reſpects, a man of importance; being both a preacher and writer among the *Quakers*. While he was in the magiſtracy, by his ſkill and prudent management, he acquired an univerſally good character; and in both his religious and civil capacity and deportment, through life, he is ſaid to have merited and obtained the general love and eſteem of all people, till his death; which was about the year 1692, at *Rankokas*, where he had lived.

To form an idea of the price of lands, then purchaſed of the *Indians*, the following inſtance may ſuffice, *viz.*

"The price of the lands, ſituated between *Oldman's-creek*, and *Timber-creek*, extending about twenty miles on the river *Delaware*, purchaſed this year, (1677) conſiſted of thirty matchcoats, twenty guns, thirty kettles, and one great one, thirty pair of hoſe, twenty fathom of duffelds, thirty petticoats, thirty narrow hoes, thirty bars of lead, fifteen ſmall barrels of powder, ſeventy knives, thirty *Indian* axes, ſeventy combs, ſixty pair of tobacco tongs, ſixty pair of ſcizzars, ſixty Tinſhaw looking glaſſes, one hundred and twenty awl blades, one hundred and twenty fiſh hooks, two graſps of red paint, one hundred and twenty needles, ſixty tobacco boxes, two hundred bells, one hundred Jews harps, ſixty anchors of rum."

Smith's hiſtory of New-Jerſey.

In the ſame hiſtory it is mentioned in another place, about the year, 1703, when the price of lands was conſequenly much advanced, *viz.*

"The council (of proprietors) have made two purchaſes, amounting to, according to our beſt computation, the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand acres, at leaſt; the coſt thereof to the *Indians*, with other incidental charges, will amount to about the ſum of ſeven hundred pounds."

Ibid.

† Some of the maſters of families, who came in the ſhip laſt mentioned, and ſettled in and about *Burlington*, were Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, William Peachy, William Clayton, John Crips, Thomas Eves, Thomas Harding, Thomas Noſiter, Thomas Fairnſworth, Morgan Drewet

a freſh number of which arrived from *Wickaco*, the *Swedes* ſettlement on *Delaware*, in the latter end of October this year; but the ſeaſon being ſo far ſpent, they had only time to erect a kind of *Wigwams*, like thoſe of the *Indians*, for their accommodation during the winter.

1677. The indians kind and helpful to the firſt and early ſetlers, &c.

The *Indians* ſupplied them with corn and veniſon; which was their principal food. Theſe natives were then not much corrupted with ſtrong liqours, and they were, in general, friendly, kind and helpful to the *Engliſh;* though at that time they were very numerous, and the latter, compared with them, but few and weak; and notwithſtanding endeavours had been uſed, as was ſuppoſed, by ſome perſons, to render them otherwiſe, in trying to make them believe that the *Engliſh* had ſold them the *Small-pox* in their match coats; yet, at a meeting, which they had on this affair, one of their chiefs expreſſed himſelf thus:—"In my grandfathers time, the ſmall-pox came; in my fathers time the ſmall-pox came; and now, in my time, the ſmall-pox is come;"—then ſtretching his hands towards

Drewet, William Pennton, Henry Jennings, William Hibes, Samuel Lovett, John Woolſton, William Woodmancy, Chriſtopher Saunders, and Robert Powel;—John Wilkinſon and William Perkins died in their paſſage.—Perkins, early in life, joined in ſociety with the Quakers, and lived well, in Leiceſterſhire;—and in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, with his wife, four children, and ſome ſervants, embarked in this ſhip:—among his ſervants was one, by name, Marſhall, a Carpenter, a very ſerviceable perſon, in fitting up the new habitations."

Smith's hiſtory of New-Jerſey.

Extract from John Crips's letter, dated, *Burlington*, on *Delaware*, 26th. 8th. month, 1677, to his friend Henry Stacy, in England.

"Here is a town (Burlington) laid out for twenty proprieties, and a ſtraight line, drawn from the river ſide (Delaware) up the land, which is to be the main ſtreet, and a market place about the middle. The *Yorkſhire* ten proprietors are to build on one ſide, and the *London* ten, on the other ſide; and they have ordered one ſtreet to be made along the river ſide; which is not divided with the reſt, but in ſmall lots by itſelf; and every one that hath any part in a propriety, is to have his ſhare in it. The town lots for every propriety will be about ten or eleven acres, which is only for a houſe, orchard and gardens, &c."

towards the ſkies, he ſaid, "It came from thence:" to which the reſt aſſented.

In

Thomas Budd, who owned a ſhare of propriety in *Weſt Jerſey*, being anceſtor to a large family there; and who arrived at *Burlington* in 1678, in a Pamphlet, deſcribing the country about nine or ten years afterwards, ſays,

"The *Indians* told us, in a conference at *Burlington*, ſhortly after we came into the country, they were adviſed to make war on us, and cut us off, while we were but few; for that we ſold them the *Small Pox*, with the Match coat they had bought of us:—Which cauſed our people to be in fears and jealouſies concerning them: therefore we ſent for the *Indian Kings*, to ſpeak with them, who with many more *Indians*, came to *Burlington*, where we had a conference with them, about the matter. We told them, we came amongſt them by their own conſent, and had bought the land of them; for which we had honeſtly paid, as well as for all the commodities which we had, at any time bought of them; that we had been juſt, kind, and reſpectful to them, from the time of our firſt coming; and therefore, know no reaſon that they had to make war on us. To which one of them in, behalf of the reſt, made the following ſpeech in anſwer."

"Our young men may ſpeak ſuch words as we do not like, nor approve of; and we cannot help it. And ſome of your young men may ſpeak ſuch words as you do not like; and you cannot help that:—We are your brothers, and intend to live like brothers with you; we have no mind to have war, for when we have war, we are only ſkin and bones, the meat that we eat does us no good; we always are in fear, we have not the benefit of the ſun to ſhine on us; we hide us in holes and corners; we are minded to live in peace. If we intend, at any time, to make war upon you, we will let you know of it, and the reaſons why we make war with you; and if you make us ſatisfaction for the injury done us, for which the war was intended, then we will not make war on you; and if you intend at any time, to make war on us, we would have you let us know of it, and the reaſon; and if we do not make ſatisfaction for the injury done unto you, then you may make war on us; otherwiſe you ought not to do it: you are our brothers, and we are willing to live like brothers with you: we are willing to have a broad path, for you and us to walk in; and if an *Indian* is aſleep in this path, the *Engliſhman* ſhall paſs by and do him no harm. And if an *Engliſhman* be aſleep in this path, the *Indian* ſhall paſs by him and ſay "he is an *Engliſhman*; he is aſleep, let him alone, he loves ſleep." It ſhall be a *plain path*; there muſt not be in this path a *ſtump*, to hurt our feet. And as to the *ſmall-pox*, it was once in my grandfather's time; and it could not be the *Engliſh*, that could ſend it to us then; there being no *Engliſh*, in the country; and it was once in my father's time; they could not ſend it us then neither; and now it is in my time; I do not believe they have ſent it to us now; I do believe it is the *Man* above that hath ſent it us."

"Some are apt to aſk, how we can propoſe ſafely to live among ſuch a *Heathen* people, as the *Indians*, whoſe principles and practices lead them to war and bloodſhed; and ours on the contrary, to love enemies? I anſwer, that we ſettled by the *Indians* conſent and goodliking, and bought the land of them, that we ſettle on; which they conveyed to us by deeds,

under

In November arrived another ſhip from *London*, with about ſixty or ſeventy paſſengers; of which ſome ſettled at *Salem;* and others at *Burlington.* Among the former are mentioned *James Nevill*, *Henry*

under their hands and ſeals; and alſo ſubmitted to ſeveral articles of agreement with us, *viz. not to do us any injury;* but if it ſhould ſo happen, that any of their people, any time, ſhould injure, or do harm to any of us, then they were to make us ſatisfaction, for the injury done. Therefore if they break theſe covenants and agreements, then, in conſequence thereof, they may be proceeded againſt, as other offenders, *viz.* to keep in ſubjection to the Magiſtrate's power; into whoſe hands the *ſword of juſtice* is committed to be uſed by him, *for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and the praiſe of them that do well:* therefore I do believe it to be both lawful and expedient to bring offenders to juſtice, by the power of the magiſtrate's ſword; which is not to be uſed in vain;—but may be uſed againſt ſuch as raiſe *rebellions* and *inſurrections* againſt the government of the country, be they *Chriſtians* or *Indians*, (now that theſe have ſo far agreed to abide the laws of civil government) otherwiſe it is in vain for us to pretend to magiſtracy, or government; it being that, which we own to be lawful, both in principle and practice.

——"The *Indians* have been very ſerviceable to us, by ſelling us veniſon, *Indian* corn, peas and beans, fiſh and fowl:"——"The women plant the corn and carry burdens. There are many of them of a good underſtanding, conſidering their education;—and in their public meetings of buſineſs, they have excellent order; one ſpeaking after another; and while one is ſpeaking all the reſt keep ſilent, and do not ſo much as whiſper one to the other.

"We had ſeveral meetings with them; one was in order to put down the ſale of rum, brandy and other ſtrong liquors, to them; they being a people, that have not government of themſelves, ſo as to drink in moderation. At which time there were eight Kings, (one of them was *Okanickon*, a noted friend to the *Engliſh*) and many other *Indians*. The Kings ſat on a form, and we on another, over againſt them. They had prepared four belts of *Wampum* (ſo their current money is called, being black and white beads, made of a fiſh ſhell) to give us as ſeals of the covenant, they made with us. One of the Kings by the conſent and appointment of the reſt ſtood up, and made this following ſpeech:

——"The ſtrong liquor was firſt ſold us by the *Dutch;* and they are blind; they had no eyes, they did not ſee that it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us, were the *Swedes*, who continued the ſale of theſe ſtrong liquors to us; they were alſo blind; they had no eyes, they did not ſee it to be hurtful to us to drink it; although we know it to be hurtful to us; but if people will ſell it to us, we are ſo in love with it, that we cannot forbear it. When we drink it, it makes us mad; we do not know what to do: we then abuſe one another; we throw each other into the fire. Seven ſcore of our people have been killed by reaſon of the drinking it, ſince the time it was firſt ſold us. Thoſe people that ſell it are blind; they have no eyes:—But now there is a people come to live amongſt us, that have eyes; they ſee it to be for our hurt, and we know it to be for our hurt; they are willing to deny themſelves the profit of it, for our good: Thoſe people have eyes; we are glad ſuch a people are come among us: we muſt put it down by mutual conſent; the

caſk

Henry Salter, and *George Deacon*, with their families.—And, in this year alſo arrived the *Fly-Boat*, *Martha*, of *Burlington*, in *Yorkſhire;* which ſailed from *Hull*, in the latter end of the ſummer, with one hundred and fourteen paſſengers.*

Arrival of John Kinſey, &c.

In one of theſe veſſels, or about this time, came *John Kinſey*, then a young man; his father, having been one of the Commiſſioners, before mentioned, who died on his arrival. He was afterwards a perſon of diſtinguiſhed ſervices, in divers public ſtations. His ſon of the ſame name, and likewiſe one of the people called *Quakers*, afterwards Chief, Juſtice of *Pennſylvania*, and eminent in the law, was no leſs memorable for his uſeful and beneficent abilities and good qualities, both in his public and private life and character.

Account of his ſon J. Kinſey, &c.

In the Tenth month, O. S. (December) 1678, arrived the *Shield*, from *Hull*, *Daniel Towes*, Commander, and anchored before *Burlington*. This was the

caſk muſt be ſealed up: it muſt be made faſt; it muſt not leak by day nor by night, in light nor in the dark; and we give you theſe four belts of *Wampum*; which we would have you lay up ſafe, and keep by you, to be witneſſes of this agreement, that we make with you; and we would have you tell your children, that theſe four belts of *Wampum* are given you, to be witneſſes betwixt us and you, of this agreement."

S. Smith's hiſtory of New Jerſey.

* Some maſters of families, in this ſhip, were, Thomas Wright, William Goforth, John Lynam, Edward Seaſon, William Black, Richard Dungworth, George Miles, William Wood, Thomas Schooly, Richard Harriſon, Thomas Hooton, Samuel Taylor, Marmaduke Horſman, William Oxley, William Ley, and Nathanial Luke. The families of Robert Stacy and Samuel Odas; and Thomas Ellis and John Batts, ſervants ſent by *George Hutchinſon*, came in this ſhip.—Twenty of the paſſengers were ſaid to be living 45 years afterwards.

Ibid.

Note, Many who came ſervants, and were induſtrious, ſucceeded better, than ſome who brought eſtates, or fortunes, &c. the former, being more generally better ſuited to encounter the hardſhips and difficulties of a new country, often acquired conſiderable poſſeſſions; while the latter, being accuſtomed to live, and depend, on their fortunes, and what they brought with them, had the diſadvantage; and ſometimes ſpent all they had, and were reduced to indigence, in a country, where ſervants were difficult to be had or kept; and the lower claſs of people naturally became more independant, than in old countries, &c.

the firſt ſhip, that came ſo far up the river *Delaware*: Oppoſite to *Coaquanock*, the *Indian* name of the place, where *Philadelphia* now ſtands, which was a bold and high ſhore, ſhe went ſo near it, in turning, that part of the tackling ſtruck the trees: ſome of the paſſengers expreſſing, "*It was a fine ſituation for a town.*" The people, next morning, went on ſhore upon the ice; ſo hard, and ſo ſuddenly had it froze, in the ſpace of one night!*

1678. Arrival of the Shield, &c.

1680. The duty, which was impoſed by the government of *New-York* on all exports and imports, at *Hoarkill*, remained a grievance till the year 1680. This duty was exacted of ſettlers, who came to *Weſt-Jerſey*. But it was, this year, redreſſed, through the application of their friends, in *England*, to the Duke of York: he referred the matter to Council; where it reſted for a conſiderable time;

The duty impoſed at Hoarkill, diſcontinued, &c.

* In this veſſel came *William Emley*, the ſecond time, with his wife and children, and both men and women ſervants; Mahlon Stacy, with his wife and children, and ſeveral both men and women ſervants; Thomas Lambert, his wife, children, men and women ſervants; John Lambert and ſervants; Thomas Revell, his wife, children and ſervants; Godfrey Hancock, his wife, children and ſervants; Thomas Potts, his wife and children; John Wood, and four children; Robert Muffin, his wife and children; Robert Schooly, his wife and children; James Pharo, his wife and children; Suſannah Fairnſworth, her children and two ſervants; Richard Tatterſal, his wife and children; Godfrey Newbold, John Dewſbury, Richard Green, Peter Fretwell, John Fretwell, John Newbold; one, by name, Barnes, a merchant, from Hull, Francis Berwick, George Parks, George Hill, John Heyres and others.

In this year (1678) alſo arrived a ſhip from *London*, which brought John Denn, Thomas Kent, John Hollingſhead, with their families; William Hewlings, Abraham Hewlings, Jonathan Eldridge, John Petty, Thomas Kirby, with others:—the former of theſe ſettled about Salem; the reſt, at Burlington.

About this time, and a few years afterwards, arrived, at Burlington, the following ſettlers, from *England*, viz. John Butcher, Henry Grubb, William Butcher, William Brightwen, Thomas Gardner, John Budd, John Burten, Seth Smith, Walter Pumphrey, Thomas Ellis, James Satterthwaite, Richard Arnold, John Woolman, John Stacy, Thomas Eves, Benjamin Duffeld, John Payne, Samuel Cleft, William Cooper, John Shinn, William Biles, John Skein, John Warrel, Anthony Morris, Samuel Bunting, Charles Reed, Francis Collins, Thomas Matthews, Chriſtopher Wetherill, John Dewſbury, John Day, Richard Baſnett, John Antrom, William Biddle, Samuel Furnace, John Ladd, Thomas Raper, Roger Huggins and Thomas Wood.

Smith's hiſtory of New-Jerſey.

time; but, at laſt, by the management and aſſiduity of *William Penn*, *George Hutchinſon*, and others, it was reported in their favor; and Sir *John Werden*, on the Duke's behalf, wrote to have it diſcontinued: William Penn and the reſt having made it fully appear, that they had purchaſed the government of the country with the ſoil; which, therefore, of right, ought not to be ſubject to any impoſition of duties, from the government of *New-York*; that the Duke of *York*, having granted all his right to the ſaid country, to the aſſigns of Lord *Berkeley*, and theſe to them, in as ample a manner, as it was granted to the Duke by the King; which was expreſsly, "*To make, ordain and eſtabliſh, all manner of orders, laws, directions, inſtruments and forms of government, and Magiſtrates, fit and neceſſary for the territory aforeſaid;*"—with this limitation, "*ſo always as the ſame be not contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this our realm of England; but as near as may be, agreeably thereto;*—it was thereby plain, that the colony, or any of its inhabitants, could not poſſibly be, of right, ſubject to any laws or impoſitions, but thoſe of its own, and of Great Britain.*

In

* In the preſent year 1680, arrived *Samuel Jenings*, with his family, from *Cokes-Hill*, in *Buckinghamſhire*. He was a perſon of ſome note and eminence; a preacher among the *Quakers*, and ſometime Governor of the province;—His letter, after his arrival, directed to *William Penn*, *Edward Byllinge*, or *G. Lawrie*, further mentions the diſcontinuance of this impoſition, as follows:

"*Dear Friends*,

"THIS may give you an account of mine, and my family's ſafe arrival in *New-Jerſey*, with all the reſt that came with us.—I might ſay ſomething concerning our paſſage at ſea, but I wave it, for want of time; and, in fine, may obſerve, all was well; for which I bleſs God; and the Lord keep us all ſenſible of it, with the reſt of his mercies, for ever."

"Dear Friends, about ſix weeks ſince we arrived in *Delaware* river, where I expected to have met with a combat, in the denial of *Cuſtoms*. In our paſſage, at ſea, I had communicated to all that had any conſiderable cargo on board, the opinion of Council, concerning the illegal demand thereof, with what elſe I thought might be for their information; which thus far prevailed, that moſt, if not all, concerned, ſeemed reſolved

In the ſettlement of new countries, people differently intereſted commonly characterize, or praiſe and diſpraiſe them, as it ſuits their intereſt to encourage or diſcourage ſuch colonization; but we find moſt of thoſe early adventurers, who, ſoon after their arrival, wrote to their friends, in *England*, appear to have been well pleaſed with the country, by giving a very favourable account of it, in many of their letters, and ſome of them, even, beyond their former expectation; of which the following extract from one, written by an early coloniſt and proprietor, in the year 1680, may ſerve as a ſpecimen reſpecting the native produce of proviſions of the country, in thoſe early times, *viz.*

See S. Smith's hiſtory of N. Jerſey.

The new Coloniſts well pleaſed with the country.

———"But now a word or two of thoſe ſtrange reports you have of us, and our country: I affirm they are not true; and fear they were ſpoke from a ſpirit of envy. It is a country that produceth all things for the ſupport and ſuſtenance of man, in a plentiful manner; if it were not ſo, I ſhould be aſhamed of what I have before written; but I can ſtand, having truth on my ſide, againſt and before the face of all gainſayers and evil ſpies.

Extract of a letter reſpecting the proviſions and native produce of the country.

1

ſolved to deny the paying of cuſtom here; having paid all the King's duties in *England*. In good time we came to anchor, in *Delaware*; where one *Peter Alricks* (collector of the cuſtoms) came aboard, and brought a handſome preſent to our Commander, and ſent for me into the *Round-houſe*, where they both were; and Peter told me, he had nothing to ſay to us, relating to *cuſtoms*; he had no commiſſion for it; nor did he know of any body that had; ſo we had all our goods ſafely landed after this unexpected eaſy manner.

"In purſuance of the truſt committed to me after my arrival, I acquainted thoſe nominated in the commiſſion with me, of it; but in a ſhort time after I received your letters, giving me an account of a new grant obtained, wherein the cuſtoms are taken off; a free port confirmed, and the government ſettled on *Edward Byllinge*; which I doubt not will be very acceptable to every honeſt man. But, as yet I have not had time to let the people, in general, know it: and now ſeeing the ports are made legally free, and the government ſettled, I would not have any thing to remain as a diſcouragement to planters; here are ſeveral good and convenient ſettlements already, and here is land enough, and good enough, for many more.

"SAMUEL JENINGS.

"*New-Jerſey, 17th. of October*, 1680."

I have travelled through moſt of the places that are ſettled, and ſome that are not; and in every place I find the country very apt to anſwer the expectation of the diligent. I have ſeen orchards laden with fruit to admiration; their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight, and moſt delicious to the taſte, and lovely to behold. I have ſeen an apple-tree, from a pippin-kernel, yield a barrel of curious cyder; and peaches in ſuch plenty, that ſome people took their carts a peach-gathering; I could not but ſmile at the conceit of it; they are very delicate fruit, and hang almoſt like our onions, that are tied on ropes. I have ſeen and known, this ſummer, forty buſhels of bold wheat of one buſhel ſown; and many more ſuch inſtances I could bring, which would be too tedious here to mention. We have, from the time called May until Michaelmas, great ſtore of very good wild fruits; as, ſtrawberries, cranberries and hurtleberries; which are like our bilberries in *England*, but far ſweeter; they are very wholeſome fruits. The cranberries, much like cherries, for color and bigneſs; which may be kept till fruit come again; an excellent ſauce is made of them for veniſon, turkeys, and other great fowl; and they are better to make tarts than either gooſberries or cherries; we have them brought to our houſes by the *Indians*, in great plenty. My brother Robert had as many cherries, this year, as would have loaded ſeveral carts. It is my judgment, by what I have obſerved, that fruit trees, in this country, deſtroy themſelves by the very weight of their fruit.

"As for veniſon and fowls, we have great plenty; we have brought home to our houſes, by the *Indians*, ſeven or eight fat bucks in a day; and ſometimes put by as many, having no occaſion for them; and fiſh, in their ſeaſon very plenteous. my couſin *Revell* and I, with ſome of my men, went laſt third month into the river to catch her-

Plenty in New-Jerſey, in 1680.

rings; for, at that time, they came in great ſholes into the ſhallows; we had neither rod nor net; but, after the *Indian* faſhion, made a round pinfold, about two yards over, and a foot high, but left a gap for the fiſh to go in at, and made a buſh to lay in the gap, to keep the fiſh in; and when that was done, we took two long birches, and tied their tops together, and went about a ſtones-caſt above our ſaid pinfold; then hawling theſe birch-boughs down the ſtream, where we drove thouſands before us; but ſo many got into our trap as it would hold; and then we began to hawl them on ſhore, as faſt as three or four of us could, by two or three at a time; and, after this manner, in half an hour, we could have filled a three buſhel ſack of as good large herrings as ever I ſaw. And as to beef and pork, here is great plenty of it, and cheap; and alſo good ſheep. The common graſs of this country feeds beef very fat. I have killed two this year; and therefore I have reaſon to know it: beſides, I have ſeen, this fall, in *Burlington*, killed eight or nine fat oxen and cows on a market day, and all very fat. And though I ſpeak of herrings only, leſt any ſhould think we have little other ſorts, we have great plenty of moſt ſorts of fiſh, that ever I ſaw in *England*: beſides ſeveral other ſorts that are not known there; as, rocks, cat-fiſh, ſhads, ſheeps-heads, ſturgeons; and fowls plenty; as, ducks, geeſe, turkeys, pheaſants, partridges; and many other ſorts, that I cannot remember, and would be too tedious to mention.

" Indeed the country, take it as a wilderneſs, is a brave country, though no place will pleaſe all. But ſome will be ready to ſay,—He writes of conveniences, but not of inconveniences.—In anſwer to theſe, I honeſtly declare there is ſome barren land, as, I ſuppoſe, there is in moſt places of the world; and more wood than ſome would have upon their lands; neither will the country produce

corn

corn without labour, nor cattle be got without ſomething to buy them, nor bread with idleneſs; elſe it would be a brave country indeed; and I queſtion not, but all then would give it a good word; For my part, I like it ſo well, I never had the leaſt thought of returning to *England*, except on account of trade.

"MALHON STACY."

Weſt-New-Jerſey being now become populous, and *Edward Byllinge* choſen Governor by the proprietors, in *England*, he commiſſioned *Samuel Jenings*, ſome time after his arrival, which was in 1680, to be his deputy. *Jenings* accordingly called an Aſſembly, with which, in November 1681, he agreed upon certain fundamentals in government, paſſed a number of laws; and, with the Commiſſioners for ſettling and regulating lands, fixed on proper rules and methods, for that purpoſe, all which may be ſeen in *S. Smith's* hiſtory of that province."*

1681. S. Jenings made Deputy Governor under E. Byllinge, &c.

Note. In the year 1683, *Gawen Lawrie*, arriving Deputy-Governor of *Eaſt-Jerſey*, under *Robert Barclay*, writes thus from *Elizabeth-town*, to the proprietors, at *London*, *viz.*

——"There is not a poor man in all the province, nor that wants; here is abundance of proviſion; pork and beef at two pence per pound; fiſh and fowl plenty; oyſters, I think, would ſerve all *England;* wheat four ſhillings ſterling per buſhel; Indian wheat two ſhillings and ſixpence; it is exceeding good for food every way; and two or three hundred fold increaſe: cyder good and plenty, for one penny per quart. Good drink, that is made of water and molaſſes, ſtands in about two ſhillings per barrel;——good veniſon plenty, brought in to us at eighteen pence the quarter; eggs at three pence per dozen; all things very plenty; land very good as ever I ſaw: vines, walnuts, peaches, ſtrawberries, and many other things plenty in the woods."

* About this time a large number of ſettlers, chiefly friends, or *Quakers*, from *Dublin*, and places adjacent, in *Ireland*, arrived at *Elſingburg*, near *Salem;* ſome of whom, John and Andrew Thompſon, and Robert Zane ſettled there: others went up to *Burlington;* and ſeveral of them ſettled at *New-Town creek;* where the *Indians* were ſhy, at firſt, but after becoming more acquainted, they were very kind, friendly and helpful to them.

In the year 1682, the names of the members of Aſſembly, which was the ſecond Aſſembly, under Jenings, were,

"Thomas Olive, *Speaker*, Mahlon Stacy, Joſhua Wright, John Lambert, Thomas Lambert, William Emley, Godfrey Hancock, Daniel Leeds, Thomas Wright, Samuel Borden, Robert Stacy, Thomas Budd, Daniel Wills, *ſenior*, Thomas Gardiner, John Crips, John White, John Chaffin,

After this large numbers of freſh ſettlers continued coming into the province; and, in the year 1682, a ſhip of 550 tons burthen arrived at *Weſt-Jerſey*, with three hundred and ſixty paſſengers; who landed between *Philadelphia* and *Burlington*, on the *Jerſey* ſhore.

The repreſentatives of *Weſt-Jerſey*, in general Aſſembly, continued to be annually elected, till the ſurrender of the proprietary government to the crown, in 1702; before which time the council, (who were Juſtices ex officio) Juſtices of peace, and inferior officers of government, were choſen by them; and the Governor was appointed by the proprietors.

Chaffin, Bernard Daveniſh, Iſaac Marriott, William Peachy, William Cooper, Mark Newby, Thomas Thackery, Robert Zane, James Nevill, Richard Guy, Mark Reeves, Richard Hancock, John Smith, John Pledger, Edward Wade, George Deacon, and Samuel Hedge.

Thoſe of the Council were,

" Thomas Olive, Robert Stacy, Mahlon Stacy, William Biddle, Thomas Budd, John Chaffin, James Nevill, Daniel Wills, Mark Newby, Elias Farre.

Juſtices for Burlington,

" William Biddle, Robert Stacy, Elias Farre, Mahlon Stacy, John Chaffin, Thomas Budd, Benjamin Scott, John Crips, Thomas Thackery.

Juſtices for Salem,

" James Nevill, George Deacon, Richard Hancock, Edward Wade.

Commiſſioners for laying out lands, &c.

" Elias Farre, William Biddle, Thomas Budd, Thomas Gardiner, Mark Newby, James Nevill, Thomas Olive, Robert Stacy, Benjamin Scott, William Cooper.

Sheriff for Burlington, John White.

Sheriff for Salem, Thomas Woodruffe.

Provincial Clerk and Recorder for Burlington, Thomas Revell.

Ditto for Salem, Samuel Hedge.

Surveyor, Daniel Leeds.

Conſtables, Robert Schooly, John Pancoaſt, John Burten, William Brightwen, Thomas Sharp."

Among the laws, paſſed in *Weſt-Jerſey*, under the adminiſtration of *Jenings*, anno 1683, the following indicates their views and care for an orderly, induſtrious and reputable ſettlement, &c. *viz.*

" And whereas, it hath pleaſed God to commit this country and province into the hands of ſuch, who (for the generality of them) are fearing

As to the religious ſtate of the firſt and early ſettlers of *Weſt New Jerſey*, it is obſervable, as before mentioned, they conſiſted principally of the people called *Quakers;* whoſe religious principles, ſyſtem, and general practice have been already deſcribed: hence on their arrival at the place where *Burlington* now ſtands, and other places, we find it was their firſt and great concern publicly to ſupport their religious worſhip; on account of which many of them had ſuffered much, in their native country.* Religious ſtate of W. N. Jerſey, in early time.

Before

fearing God, and painful and induſtrious, in the promoting and improving the ſaid province; and, for the better preventing of ſuch as are profane, looſe and idle and ſcandalous, from ſettling amongſt us, who are, and will be, not only unſerviceable, but greatly burdenſome to the province: It is therefore hereby enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that all perſon and perſons, who ſhall tranſport him, or themſelves into this province, ſhall, within eighteen months after he, or they, ſhall arrive, in the ſaid province, procure and produce a certificate, under the hands of ſuch of that religious ſociety, to whom he or they did belong, or otherwiſe, from two Magiſtrates, if procurable, or two Conſtables, or Overſeers of the poor, with three, or more, creditable perſons of the neighbourhood, who inhabit, or belong to the place, where he, or they, did laſt reſide, as may give ſatisfaction, that is to ſay, that he, or they came not clandeſtinely, or fraudently away; and if unmarried, that he, or ſhe, are clear from former engagements, in that particular; and alſo, that he, or ſhe, are ſuch as live ſoberly and honeſtly, to the beſt of their knowledge; and that no Juſtice ſhall preſume to marry any ſuch perſon or perſons, who ſhall come into this province, before ſuch certificate be produced; or that it be laid before the Governor, or two Juſtices, and give them ſufficient ſatisfaction concerning their clearneſs; and that all ſuch perſon and perſons, who ſhall ſettle in the ſaid province, and ſhall refuſe, or neglect to produce ſuch certificate, as aforeſaid, within the ſaid eighteen months, ſhall be fined at the diſcretion of the Governor and Council of the ſaid province, not exceeding twenty pounds; the ſame to be levied by diſtreſs and ſale on the offender's goods, and to be paid into the hands of the Treaſurer of the ſaid Province."

* The following is an extract from a manuſcript, written by one of the paſſengers, in the Shield, from Hull, in 1678.

"The firſt ſettlers were moſtly of the people called *Quakers*, who were well beloved where they came from, and had valuable eſtates; and though while they lived in their native country, they had plenty of all neceſſaries, yet their deſire to remove to *America* was ſo ſtrong, that they could not be content without going thither; and choſe to venture themſelves, their wives, children, and all they had, in the undertaking."———

———"But, notwithſtanding the maſters of families were men of good eſtates, yet, before they could get their land in order, and corn and

At first they meet under a tent, &c.

Before a houſe was built on the place, they conſtantly at ſtated times, held their religious meetings under a *tent*, covered with ſail cloth, till *John Woolſton* had got his houſe ready; which was the firſt framed houſe in *Burlington;* at whoſe houſe, and that of *Thomas Gardiner*, they afterwards continued to hold their meetings both for divine worſhip, and the diſcipline or order, or their religious ſociety, till a ſuitable meeting houſe was built for that purpoſe; which was not till ſeveral years after their firſt arrival there, and a ſimilar care and practice appear to have been among them, in other places where they ſettled.

Among

and ſtock about them, they endured great hardſhips, and went through many difficulties and ſtraits; nevertheleſs I never perceived any of them to repine, or repent of their coming."———

" As it is ſaid in holy writ, the preparations of the heart, in man, is of the Lord, ſo it may well be believed, that the hearts of theſe people were prepared for this ſervice; even, to labor for the repleniſhing of the land; it being a wilderneſs indeed, and they unacquainted with the nature of the ſoil, and alſo with the inhabitants; altogether pilgrims and ſtrangers, at their firſt coming among them."

" A providential hand was very viſible and remarkable, in many inſtances, that might be mentioned;———and the Indians were, even, rendered our benefactors and protectors!———Without any carnal weapon we entered the land; and inhabited therein, as ſafe as if there had been thouſands of garriſons;———For the moſt *High* preſerved us from harm both of man and beaſt:———and as the *Engliſh* increaſed more and more, there came ſuch a ſore diſtemper among the *Indians* that they died ſo faſt that, in ſome places, their bodies waſted above ground."

" Many were the inſtances, whoſe conſideration might be uſeful to future generations, and the ſteps of their forefathers and elders, inſtructive to poſterity."

———" The aforeſaid people were zealous in performing their religious ſervice; for having, at firſt, no meeting-houſe to keep public meetings in, they made a tent, or covert, of ſail cloth, to meet under; and after they got ſome little houſes to dwell in, then they kept their meetings in one of them, till they could build a meeting houſe."——— *Thomas Olive* and *Willam Peaſby* were two of the firſt ſettlers, who had a public Miniſtry.

" *Samuel Jenings* and his wife, *Ann*, were early comers to *America*, and of worthy memory, endued with both ſpiritual and temporal wiſdom;———ſome part of his time he was made Governor of *Weſt-Jerſey;*———he was a ſuppreſſor of vice, and an encourager of virtue;———ſharp towards evil doers, but tender and loving to them that did well; giving good counſel, and wholeſome advice to friends and neighbours;

Among the firſt things that appear to have come under particular notice and regulation, in their meetings of diſcipline, after their arrival, were, the taking proper care and ſupport of their poor; the ordering and paſſing of marriages, (thirteen couple having been married among them at *Burlington*, before the year 1681,) and the diſcouraging of all their people from ſelling ſtrong liquors to the *Indians*.

First objects of their care in their meetings of diſcipline, &c.

In the year 1680, in an epiſtle from their *monthly meeting* at *Burlington*, to the *yearly meeting* in *London*, which was the firſt regular correſpondence of that nature, eſtabliſhed between the ſociety, in this part of the world, and the ſaid *yearly meeting*, they were particularly urgent, among other things, that none

They write to the Y. meeting in London, &c.

neighbours;———an able miniſter of the goſpel; and laboured much therein; to the comfort and edification of many people, both in this province, and other places," &c. M. S.

Note. Among thoſe of this ſociety, who arrived in this province, before the grant of *Pennſylvania* to *William Penn*, in 1681, or ſoon afterwards, the following perſons appear to be mentioned, as active and uſeful, not only in their own religious ſociety, but moſt of them alſo in a civil capacity, in and about *Burlington*, viz.

John Butcher, Henry Grubb, William Butcher, William Brightwen, Thomas Gardiner, Thomas Foulke, John Bourten, Samuel Jenings, Seth Smith, Walter Pomphrey, Thomas Ellis, James Satterthwaite, Richard Arnold, John Woolman, John Stacy, Thomas Eves, John Payne, Samuel Cleft, William Cooper, John Shinn and William Biles.—And about this time, or ſoon afterwards, arrived John Skein, Anthony Morris, Samuel Bunting, Francis Collins, Thomas Matthews, Chriſtopher Wetherill, John Dewſbury, John Day, Richard Baſnett, John Antrom, William Biddle and Samuel Furnace.

Among the women of worthy and eminent character, in the ſame ſociety, at this time, appear to have been, Elizabeth Gardiner, Sarah Biddle, Elizabeth Hooten, Helen Skein, Ann Butcher, Suſannah Brightwen, Mary Crips, Frances Antrom, Frances Taylor, Ann Jenings, Joan Atkinſon, Suſannah Budd, Judith Noble, Ann Peachy, &c.

John Woolſton is ſaid to have been a perſon of good eſteem among his friends, the *Quakers* at *Burlington*; and that during more than twenty years fatigue of a new ſettlement, he ever proved himſelf a ready friend, kind neighbour, and a valuable member of ſociety till his death, in 1698.

Thomas Gardiner was a man of eminence among the *Quakers* and early ſettlers in *Burlington* and *Weſt-Jerſey*. He ſerved in ſeveral public offices, in the government, with honor and fidelity;—was very ſkilful in a variety of buſineſs;—a good ſurveyor, and a very uſeful member of ſociety;—ſeveral years, one of the Council; Treaſurer of the weſtern diviſion, and the firſt Speaker of the Aſſembly, after the union of the governments

none of their friends, or members of the ſame ſociety in *England*, or elſewhere, ſhould remove to them, without certificates, or well authenticated recommendation, from the ſociety, where they laſt lived, prior to their removal; in order to prevent impoſture, idle, diſorderly and deſigning perſons from coming among them, and taking advantage of the innocent and well-meaning; and that they might be well adviſed in ſuch important undertaking.*

The firſt general yearly meeting, &c. in 1681.

The firſt general yearly meeting of the people called *Quakers*, in this country, for regulating the affairs of their religious ſociety, was held, or met, at *Burlington*, on the 28th. day of the Sixth month, 1681.† It was conſtituted of ſuch of their religious meetings as were then eſtabliſhed, or ſettled, in *New-Jerſey*, as, at *Shrewſbury*, *Salem*, *Burlington*, *Rankokas*, &c. and on the weſt ſide of *Delaware*, (where divers *Engliſh* ſettlements of this people appear to have been, prior to thoſe under *William Penn*) as, at *Shackamaxon*; (or nigh the place where *Kenſington* ſtands, in the vicinity of *Philadelphia*)

governments of *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Jerſey*, in 1703. He died at *Burlington*, in 1712.

John Skein, was a native of *Scotland*; a perſon of great ſervice and integrity, both in his religious and civil conduct; he was near two years Governor of *Weſt-Jerſey*, and died in the year 1687. He was a preacher among the *Quakers*; had ſuffered much for his religion, in his native country; where he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in its cauſe.

* This epiſtle was ſigned by *John Woolſton*, Daniel Leeds, John Butcher, Henry Grubb, William Butcher, Seth Smith, Walter Pomphrey, Thomas Ellis, James Satterthwaite, Thomas Budd, William Peachy, William Brightwen, Thomas Gardiner, Robert Stacy, John Hollingſhead, Robert Powell, John Burton, Samuel Jenings;—— and by Richard Arnold, John Woolman, John Stacy, Abraham Hulings, Peter Fretwell, Thomas Eves, John Payne, John Crips, Thomas Lambert, John Kinſey, Samuel Cleft, William Cooper, John Shin, William Biles, Thomas Harding, William Hulings.

† On the 31ſt. this yearly meeting entered upon regulating ſuch affairs of the ſociety, as then appeared firſt neceſſary, &c. particularly the appointment of times and places of the different meetings for religious worſhip, and the diſcipline, or other buſineſs of the ſociety:—among which a general meeting for worſhip was then agreed to be held yearly at *Salem*, on the ſecond firſt day of the week in the Second month, &c.

Philadelphia) near the falls of *Delaware;* and at *Upland*, ſince called *Cheſter*, &c.*

This yearly meeting of the ſociety on both ſides of *Delaware*, was afterwards, from the year 1684, held alternately at *Burlington* and *Philadelphia*, till the year 1761 when it was removed entirely to *Philadelphia;* ſince which time it continues to be annually held there, and maintains a conſtant regular intercourſe and correſpondence with that of the ſame ſociety in *London*.

Y. M. ſince removed to Philadelphia, &c.

As

* The firſt religious meetings of this people, in *New-Jerſey*, were regularly ſettled, firſt, at *Shrewſbury*, in 1670; ſecond at *Salem*, in 1675. At the former place, in 1667, the ſettlers are ſaid to have been either all, or moſt of them, Friends, or *Quakers;*—among whom *Lewis Morris*, a Friend from *Barbadoes*, was one of the moſt conſiderable, &c. As to the latter place, or *Salem*, the Friends, who came with *John Fenwicke*, in 1675, firſt ſettled a meeting there, on their arrival.

Note. It may be further obſerved, that, among the records of early time, *viz.* about the years 1681 and 1682, there are ſeveral papers of religious advice, addreſſed,—"*To the planters, and ſuch as are tranſporting themſelves to the plantations, in America,*" among the *Quakers*, by *George Fox*, the firſt and chief preacher, in that ſociety; tending to inculcate ſuch a principle and motive of acting and general practice, in life and manners, as, if duly adhered to, would render laws and puniſhments leſs neceſſary, by preventing the cauſes of them:—Theſe exhorted to a due performance of certain *Chriſtian* duties, both in a religious and civil capacity; pointing out the infallible means of executing the ſame;—In which, that the reader may ſee a ſpecimen of the nature of theſe advices, among other things, it is there expreſſed and adviſed, *viz.*

1 "That, while they were making outward plantations, in *America*, they ſhould not neglect the more important cultivation of their own minds, and that more excellent improvement, in heavenly riches, and true mental felicity; which is of more laſting duration, than all worldly objects; by faithfully diſcharging their duty to God, as well as to each other; and their inviting and inſtructing the *Indians*, and all people, where they came, in the knowledge and practice of true *Chriſtianity*.

2 "To keep to truth and uprightneſs, in all their dealings; taking no advantage from the diſtreſs of others, or the circumſtances of the times; not to oppreſs any, through lucrative views, when in their power; nor to be elevated in mind by their temporal acquiſitions; which the ſame hand of Providence, that gave them, could as eaſily take away:——and that their lives and converſations ſhould be conſiſtent with their profeſſion, in all things, and not adminiſter any real occaſion for report, that they were become worſe, through the increaſe of their worldly poſſeſſions; to the incumbering of their minds, and drawing them into a practice, incompatible with their real felicity.

3. "That none ſhould go beyond their abilities and capacities, in trade, and thereby riſk the property of others, to their hurt; nor ſtrive to be great, in the world; but to keep to moderation, in all things.

Proportion of Quakers, meetings with others, &c.

As to the proportion, which the number of theſe people, in later years, bears with the reſt of the inhabitants, in *Weſt-Jerſey*, who have ſince flocked into it and increaſed among them, it appears by S. Smith's hiſtory of *New-Jerſey*, publiſhed in 1765, from which the major part of what has here been ſaid of it is taken, that in the eight counties, of which *Weſt-Jerſey* conſiſts, there then were meeting-houſes, where meetings were held for divine worſhip, of the *Quakers* thirty-two, of the *Preſbyterians* thirty-two, of the different *Baptiſts* thirteen, of the *Epiſcopalians*, or church of *England* ten, of the low *Dutch*, *Germans* and *Swedes*, both *Lutheran* and *Preſbyterian* congregations, ten, and one of the *Moravians*.

Number of inhabitants, &c.

In the ſame hiſtory, the whole number of the inhabitants of both Eaſt and *Weſt-Jerſey*, were then ſuppoſed to be about one hundred thouſand.

E. Jerſey ſold to 12 proprietors, &c.

Eaſt-Jerſey was, by the laſt *Will* of its proprietor, Sir *George Carteret*, ordered to be ſold, at his death, to pay his debts.*—He died in 1679; and it

4. "That all, who were in offices of government, as Governors, Judges, Juſtices, &c. ſhould ſtrictly adhere to juſtice and equity, diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the faithful diſcharge of their duty, eſpecially in helping the poor, fatherleſs and diſtreſſed, &c. (with many quotations out of the S. Scriptures, on this head) and, that, ſuch as rule over others, ſhould, in the firſt place, govern well their own families; recommending the examples of *Daniel*, *Joſeph*, *&c.* to thoſe in authority; and the Apoſtle's advice, "*To ſubmit to every ordinance of man, whether it be to the King, as ſupreme, or to Governors, as to them that are ſent by them, &c.*

5. "And, that all theſe things, with many others, (too tedious here to particularize,) ſhould be obſerved and done, from a ſenſe, principle, or motive, of conſcientious duty; which is a more noble and ſtronger obligation, on the human mind, and far above what any ſlaviſh fear, or mere external force, or power of laws and puniſhments alone, is able to induce, or effect."

* "His *Will* is dated, December 5th. 1678; he deviſes to Edward, Earl of Sandwich, John Earl of Bath, Bernard Grenville, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Robert Atkins and Edward Atkins, Eſquire, and their heirs, among other lands, all his plantation of *New-Jerſey*, upon truſt and confidence, that they, and the ſurvivors, or ſurvivor of them, ſhould make ſale of all the ſaid premiſes; and out of the money, that ſhould, upon ſuch ſale, ariſe, pay and diſcharge debts, &c. as therein mentioned."

Smith's hiſtory of New-Jerſey.

it was accordingly disposed of, and conveyed, to twelve persons, or proprietors, and to their heirs and assigns, by indenture of lease and release, bearing date the first and second of February, 1681-2:— Of which *Philip Carteret* had remained Governor ever since the quintipartite division, in 1676, as well as before, till about this time; *Elizabeth-town* being then the capital, or the place of the Governor's residence. The names of the twelve proprietors were, *William Penn*, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Thomas Wilcox, of London, Goldsmith, Ambrose Rigg, John Haywood, Hugh Hartshorne, Clement Plumsted and Thomas Cooper.

Their names.

These twelve proprietors soon took in twelve others, making, in all, twenty-four. The names of the latter twelve proprietors were, James, Earl of *Perth*, John Drummond, Robert Barclay, Robert Gordon, Aarent Sonmans, Gawen Lawrie, Edward Byllinge, James Braine, William Gibson, Thomas Barker, Robert Turner, and Thomas Warne. They published an account of their country, a fresh project for a town, (*Perth Amboy*) and a method of disposing of their lands. Their plan was popular; and many, especially of the *Scotch*, resorted thither: and to these proprietors the Duke of *York* made a fresh grant of *East-Jersey*, bearing date, the 14th. of March, 1682.

Names of the other twelve, &c.

Many, if not most, of these proprietors were Friends, or *Quakers; Robert Barclay* of *Urie*, in *Scotland*, a very noted person in that society, as before mentioned, being one of them, was by the rest of the proprietors, in 1683, made Governor of *East-Jersey*, for life; *Thomas Rudyard*, of the same society, from *London*, likewise a proprietor, being

Robert Barclay in 1683, made Governor of East Jersey, &c.

Note. George Keith, a scotchman, sometime Surveyor General of *East-Jersey*, and a noted person among the *Quakers*, is thought to have arrived about this time, (1682) or soon afterwards.

Ibid.

being his deputy; who, either at, or before, this time, had arrived in the province; but he was ſoon after ſucceeded by *Gawen Lawrie* of *London*, (one of the proprietors of both *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Jerſey*) under *Robert Barclay*.*

Government of E. and W. Jerſey ſurrendered to the crown anno 1702.

Eaſt and *Weſt-Jerſey* thus continued, in an increaſing and proſperous ſtate, for a number of years, or till about the year 1701; when the nature of their governments, which were inveſted in ſuch a large number of proprietors, occaſioned ſo much

* *Barclay's* Commiſſion was in the following words, *viz.*

"The proprietors of the province of *Eaſt-New-Jerſey* to our truſty and well beloved fellow proprietor, *Robert Barclay* ſend Greeting:

"Whereas, the powers of government of the province of *Eaſt-New-Jerſey* is devolved upon us, and aſſigned to us, by *James* duke of *York*, with power to conſtitute and appoint ſuch Governor and Commiſſioners, for the well governing of the ſaid province, as we ſhall ſee meet; and we having heretofore, out of the confidence, we had of *Robert Barclay*, his ſkill, prudence and integrity, conſtituted him Governor of the ſaid province, to appoint a deputy, during his abſence therefrom; to be approved by ſixteen of the proprietors: upon the ſame reaſon and confidence, we do hereby confirm to him the government of the ſaid province, *during all the days of his life;* as to have the power of the government of all the ſaid province, and of all iſles, rivers, iſlands and ſeas, within the ſame, or belonging thereto; to do all, and every thing, or things, which to the charge and office of a Governor doth appertain; commanding all inferior officers to obey him, as their Governor, according to this our commiſſion, and the power hereby given him, and according to the laws and conſtitutions made, or confirmed, by us, or to be made; which he himſelf is to obſerve and follow; as unto his duty and office doth appertain. And whereas, we have agreed, and are ſatisfied, for certain good reaſons and conſiderations, moving us thereunto, to commit this truſt unto him, and give him this character, without laying any neceſſity upon him, to repair to the ſaid province; ſo likewiſe we have, and do hereby give him power, from time to time, as need ſhall be, during his abſence, to name and conſtitute, and grant commiſſion to, a Deputy Governor to ſerve in the ſaid province; he being always approved by ſixteen of us the proprietors, and following the orders, he receives from us, according to the laws and conſtitutions of the ſaid province.

"Given under the ſeal of the ſaid province, and ſigned by our hands; dated at *London*, the 17th. of the Fifth month, called July, in the year of our Lord, according to the Engliſh account, 1683."

Note. "*R. Barclay* never came to the province. He died on the third of October 1690; having continued Governor till 1685:—when Lord *Neil Campbell*, uncle to the Duke of *Argyle*, was appointed Governor, and came over to the province."——"In 1698, Sir *Thomas Lane* was Governor of *Eaſt-Jerſey*."

Smith's hiſtory of New-Jerſey.

much inconveniency, diſpute; party and confuſion, that, in the following year, the proprietors of both diviſions agreed to ſurrender the government; which was accordingly done by them, to *Queen Ann*, by an inſtrument, dated the 15th. day of April, 1702. Since which time they both have continued, in proſperity, united in one government, immediately under the Crown.

It may be further obſerved from S. Smith's account of this province,

Extent of, and number of acres in, N. Jerſey.

"That the whole extent of it, from North to South, or from Cape May, in latitude 39 degrees, to the north ſtation point, in latitude 41 degrees, 40 minutes, at 69½ miles to a degree, is about 184 miles; and its greateſt breadth, about 60 miles; but ſuppoſing it, at a medium, to be 150, in length, and 50, in breadth, the whole province, muſt then contain 4,800,000 acres; of which one-fourth part (probably more) is poor, barren, land, in reſpect to tillage; but, in part, abounding with pines and cedars, and ſome few tracts of ſwamp, that will make meadow.

Number of counties, &c.

Eaſt Jerſey is divided into five Counties, *viz.* *Middleſex*, *Monmouth*, *Eſſex*, *Somerſet*, and *Bergen*. *Weſt-Jerſey*, into eight, as, *Burlington*, *Glouceſter*, *Salem*, *Cumberland*, *Cape May*, *Hunterdon*, *Morris* and *Suſſex*.

Number of acres in W. Jerſey, &c. *S. Smith.*

"It is ſuppoſed that *Weſt-Jerſey*, contains more acres, than the eaſtern diviſion, and, in return, took more barren land. *Eaſt-Jerſey*, now in 1765, is ſuppoſed to have located nearly 468,000 acres, good land, and 96,000 acres of pine land. The proprietors of *Weſt-Jerſey*, ſoon after their arrival, divided among them 500,000 acres; which they called the firſt dividend: ſince which, at different times, they have iſſued directions for each proprietor's taking his part of four other dividends, of the like quantity, amounting in the whole, with allowance of five per cent. for roads, to 2,625,000; conjectured

conjectured by many to be full as much as the diviſion contains; of this the far greater part is already ſurveyed; what yet remains are chiefly the rights of minors and people abroad."

The trade of N. Jerſey centers in Philadelphia and N. York.

The vicinity of the cities of *New-York* to *Eaſt-Jerſey*, and of *Philadelphia* to *Weſt-Jerſey*, has carried moſt of their foreign trade to theſe two places; to which the inhabitants reſort, in that reſpect, as to the capitals of each reſpective diviſion; ſo that there is no town of very conſiderable trade, ſize, or importance, in that otherwiſe rich, plentiful and flouriſhing colony of *New-Jerſey*.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER I.

William Penn's chief design in the colonization of Pennsylvania—cause and manner of obtaining the grant:—King Charles the second's royal charter to William Penn.—Boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the real extent and content of the latter.—The King's declaration.—Account of the province, terms of sale for land, and conditions of settlement published, with advice to the adventurers.—Free society of traders, &c.

IT has been mentioned, in the preceding introduction, in what manner *William Penn* became concerned in the province of *West-New-Jersey*, and a principal promoter of its colonization, in, or about, the year 1676. After which time, as before, it appears, in the annals of his life, that he was continually, and various ways, employed, in promoting the happiness of mankind, both in their

1676.

W. Penn's time spent in benefiting mankind.

1676. their religious and civil capacity; insomuch that his name is revered in a double respect, and rendered dear to posterity. The fruits of his labours have placed his conduct above the power of envy and detraction; which would pervert every good and laudable design to the vilest purposes, and represent the most generous actions, as arising from sordid and sinister views: evils, which always indicate their opposite virtues and true merit, and have their residence in base and low minds.

His views in the colonization of Pennsylvania.

The views of *William Penn*, in the colonization of *Pennsylvania*, were most manifest, the best and most exalted, that could occupy the human mind;* to

* Governor *Hutchinson*, in his history of *Massachuset's-bay*, says, "Our ancestors valued themselves upon being a colony for *religion*. *Penn* had no other motive to found his colony, than *human policy*."

First, By *religion* here, it seems not unreasonable to suppose, the author meant, that partial advancement of a particular sect, or of the professors of one particular form of religion only, both in civil and ecclesiastical power and advantages, to the exclusion of all others; which appears, by his history, to have been the real case, in that colony:——and that, by *human policy only*, is to be understood, in this place, the conferring of no exclusive favour, nor partial advantages, on the votaries of any one particular form of religion alone, according to the political state or constitution of *Pennsylvania*, established by *William Penn*;——for as mentioned in the beginning, it is most certain, that *William Penn*, both in a religious and civil respect,—"As an universal father, opened his arms to all mankind, without distinction of sect, or party. In his republic, it was not the religious creed, but personal merit, that entitled every member of society to the protection and emolument of the state."

It is not my business here to compare this kind of *religion*, with what is here called *human policy alone*, nor to shew how far the latter excels, or transcends, the unreasonable limitation of the former, both in a religious and political sense, notwithstanding the names here given them; because the perversion, or misapplication of names and words is easy and common;—but to call the best religion, *human policy only*, cannot alter the nature of it, though it may sometimes have an effect on ignorant and inconsiderate minds, &c.

Second, Besides, I think I have known some others, so differently minded in their conceptions of things, and so strongly swayed by the opinion, though under pretence of religion, or from declared religious views, as to endeavour to make men believe, "*That true Christians ought not to be concerned, as agents, in the affairs of civil government at all:*"—because, say they, "*Christ's kingdom is not of this world*," &c. I shall not meddle here with such opinions further than, in this history to oppose the invariable sentiments, and uniform conduct of *William Penn* to the extravagancy of all such notions.

When

to render men as free and happy as the nature of their exiſtence could poſſibly bear, in their civil capacity, and in their religious ſtate, to reſtore to them thoſe loſt rights and privileges, with which God and nature had originally bleſſed the human race. This, in part, he effected; and, by thoſe means, which Providence, in the following manner, put into his hands, he ſo far brought to paſs, as both to excite the admiration of ſtrangers, and to fix in poſterity, that love and honor for his memory, which the length of future time will ſcarcely ever be able to efface. 1680.

His ſucceſs in this his deſign.

It has already been obſerved, that the eminent public ſervices of *Admiral Penn* had brought him in favor at court; to which favor his ſon, *William Penn*, ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the ſingularity of the choice of his mode of life. There was a large ſum of money due, from the government, to the Admiral, at the time of his death; much of

W. Penn petitions the King in 1680.

When preparing for his ſettlement and government of *Pennſylvania* *William Penn*, in divers of his letters and writings, on the occaſion, &c. beſides what is publiſhed, of that nature, in his printed works, expreſſed his *religious ſenſe and views*, in a manner ſufficiently clear, on this affair; of which the following ſhort extracts may ſerve, as a ſpecimen, *viz.*

Firſt, To his friends, in a more general capacity:—

"And now give me leave to ſay, I have ſerved the Lord, his truth and people, in my day, to my ability, and not ſought myſelf, though much ſpent my ſelf; ſo has he firmly made me to believe, that I ſhall not, even, *outwardly*, go without my reward; I ſee his bleſſed hand *therein*, that has bleſſed my faith and patience, and long attendance with ſucceſs. And becauſe I have been ſomewhat exerciſed, at times, about the nature and end of government, among men, it is reaſonable to expect, that I ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh a juſt and righteous one, in *this province; that others may take example by it;*—truly this my heart deſires. For the nations want a *precedent:* and till vice, and corrupt manners, be impartially rebuked and puniſhed, and till virtue and ſobriety be cheriſhed, the wrath of God will hang over nations. I do, therefore, deſire the Lord's wiſdom to guide me, and thoſe that may be concerned with me; that we may do the thing, that is truly wiſe and juſt," &c. M.S.

Secondly, To a particular friend in *England*, who afterwards removed to *Pennſylvania*, taken from his own hand writing, dated, in 1681, *viz.*—

"For my country, I eyed the Lord, in obtaining it; and more was I drawn inward to look to him, and to owe it to his hand and power, *than to any other way; I have ſo obtained it, and deſire to keep it;* that I may not be unworthy of his love; but do that, which may anſwer his kind Providence, and ſerve his truth and people: *that an example may be ſet up to the nations:* there may be room there, though not here, for ſuch an *holy experiment*," &c.

1680. which he himſelf had advanced for the ſea ſervice; the reſt was for arrearages in his pay. In conſequence of this debt, *William Penn*, in the ſummer of the year 1680, petitioned King *Charles* the ſecond, that *letters patent* might be granted him, for a tract of land, in *America*, lying north of *Maryland;* on the eaſt, bounded by *Delaware* river; on the weſt limited as *Maryland;* and northward to extend as far as plantable.

This was firſt laid before the *Privy Council*, and afterwards, the Lords of the committee of trade and plantations. After ſeveral meetings on the occaſion, in which the objections, from the Duke of *York*, by his agent, Sir *John Werden*, as proprietor of that tract of Land, ſince called, the counties of *New-Caſtle*, *Kent* and *Suſſex*, on *Delaware;* and from the Lord *Baltimore*, proprietor of *Maryland*, were fully heard and debated; the Lord Chief Juſtice *North*, and the Attorney-General, Sir *William Jones*, being conſulted both reſpecting
1681. the grant itſelf, and alſo the form, or manner, of making it. The affair was at length, reſulted in *William Penn's* favor; and he was, by charter, dated at *Weſtminſter*, the fourth day of March, 1681, made and conſtituted full and abſolute proprietor of all that tract of land and province, now called *Pennſylvania*, and inveſted with the powers of government of the ſame.*

W. Penn obtains the grant of Pennſylvania.

* *Anderſon*, in his excellent treatiſe, entitled, "*An hiſtorical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce*," &c. publiſhed in two volumes folio, under the year 1680, thus mentions the riſe of this colony, *viz.*

"The ſame year, 1680, gave riſe to the noble *Engliſh* colony of *Pennſylvania*, in *North America;*"——"That country, till now, was moſtly a part of *Virginia*, and another part of it was a part of *New-York* colony. Mr. *William Penn*, an eminent *Quaker*, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philoſophy, had it granted to him, at this time;——which he deſigned for a retreat or *aſylum*, for the people of his religious perſwaſion, then made uneaſy at home, through the bigotry of ſpiritual courts, &c. Mr. Penn, therefore, carried thither with him a large embarkation of thoſe *Quakers;* afterwards, from time to time, joined by many more, from *Britain* and *Ireland*. At his firſt arrival there, he found many *Engliſh* families in it, and conſiderable numbers of *Dutch* and *Swedes;* who all readily ſubmitted to his wiſe and excellent regulations; which highly merit to be known by all perſons, who would

apply

This charter consists of twenty-three sections. 1681.
The preamble to which declares the reasons for the said grant were, "The commendable desire of *Willian Penn* to enlarge the *British Empire*, by promoting commodities of trade; reducing the savage *natives*, by gentle and just means, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion, and by transplanting an ample colony into that uncultivated country, together with the memorable services of his father *Admiral Penn;*" The whole is expressed in the following manner, *viz.* Reasons for the grant, &c.

"*The* Charter *of* Charles *the second*, *of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, King, *defender of the faith*, *&c. unto* William Penn, *proprietary and Governor of the province of* Pennsylvania," 1681.

"*Charles*, by the grace of *God*, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, &c. to all, to whom these presents shall come, *Greeting:*

"Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject *William Penn*, Esquire, son and heir of Sir *William Penn* deceased, (out of a commendable desire to enlarge our *British* empire, and promote such useful commodities, as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, as also to reduce the savage *Natives*, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society, and christian religion) hath humbly besought leave of *US*, to transport an ample colony unto a certain country, herein after described, in the parts of *America*, not yet cultivated and planted; and hath likewise so humbly besought our royal Majesty to give, grant and confirm all the said country, with Preamble.

apply to colonizing. The true wisdom, as well as equity, of his *unlimited toleration* of all religious perswasions, as well as his kind, just and prudent treatment of the native *Indians;* also his laws, policy and government, so endeared him to the planters, and so widely spread the fame of his whole œconomy, that, although so lately planted, it is thought, at this day (about the year 1760) to have more white people in it, than any other colony, on all the continent of *English America*, *New-England* alone excepted."

with certain privileges and juriſdictions, requiſite for the good government and ſafety of the ſaid country and colony, to him, and his heirs forever.

Section I.

Conſideration of the grant.

"Know ye, therefore, that we, (favoring the petition and good purpoſe of the ſaid *William Penn*, and having regard to the memory and merits of his late father, in divers ſervices, and particularly to his conduct, courage and diſcretion, under our deareſt brother *James* Duke of *York*, in that ſignal battle and victory, fought and obtained, againſt the *Dutch* fleet, commanded by the *Heer Van Opdam*, in the year 1665: In conſideration thereof, of our ſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion) have given and granted, and, by this our preſent *Charter*, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, all that tract, or part, of land, in *America*, with the iſlands therein contained, as the ſame is bounded,

Bounds of the grant.

on the eaſt, by *Delaware* river, from twelve miles diſtance northwards of *New-Caſtle* town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the ſaid river doth extend ſo far northward, but if the ſaid river ſhall not extend ſo far northward, then, by the ſaid river, ſo far as it doth extend; and from the head of the ſaid river, the eaſtern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the ſaid river, unto the ſaid forty-third degree. The ſaid land to extend weſtward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the ſaid eaſtern bounds; and the ſaid lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and, on the ſouth, by a circle, drawn at twelve miles diſtance from *New-Caſtle*, northward and weſtward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude; and then by a ſtraight line weſtward to the limits of longitude above mentioned.

Section II.

"We do also give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, the free, and undisturbed use, and continuance in, and passage unto, and out of all and singular ports, harbours, bays, waters, rivers, isles and inlets, belonging unto, or leading to, and from, the country, or islands aforesaid, and all the soils, lands, fields, woods, underwoods, mountains, hills, fenns, isles, lakes, rivers, waters, rivulets, bays and inlets, situated, or being within, or belonging to, the limits, or bounds, aforesaid, together with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeon, and all royal, and other fishes, in the seas, bays, inlets, waters, or rivers, within the premises, and all the fish taken therein; and also all veins, mines, minerals and quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gemms, and precious stones, and all other whatsoever, be it stones, metals, or of any other thing or matter whatsoever, found, or to be found, within the country, isles, or limits, aforesaid. 1681. Free passage, &c. granted.

Section III.

"And him, the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, we do by this our *royal charter*, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create and constitute the true and absolute proprietary of the country aforesaid, and of all other the premises; saving always to us, our heirs and successors, the faith and allegiance of the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, and of all other proprietaries, tenants and inhabitants, that are, or shall be, within the territories and precincts aforesaid; and saving also unto us, our heirs and successors, the sovereignty of the aforesaid country; to have, hold, possess and enjoy the said tract of land, country, isles, inlets, and other the premises, unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, forever, to be holden W. Penn, &c. made absolute proprietary, &c.

1681. holden of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, kings of *England*, as of our caſtle of *Windſor*, in the county of *Berks*, in free and common ſoccage, by *fealty* only, for all ſervices and not *in capite*, or by knight ſervice: yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, two *Beaver ſkins*, to be delivered at our caſtle of *Windſor*, on the firſt day of January, in every year; and alſo the fifth part of of all gold, and ſilver oar, which ſhall, from time to time, happen to be found within the limits aforeſaid, clear of all charges. And of our further grace, certain knowledge, mere motion, We have thought fit to erect, and we do hereby erect, the aforeſaid country and iſlands into a province and feigniory, and do call it *Penſilvania*, and ſo from henceforth will have it called.

To be held in common ſoccage, &c.

One-fifth of gold and ſilver oar reſerved.

The name.

Section IV.

" And, for as much as, we have hereby made and ordained the aforeſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, the true and abſolute proprietaries of all the lands and dominions aforeſaid, Know ye, therefore, that we (repoſing ſpecial truſt and confidence in the fidelity, wiſdom, juſtice and provident circumſpection of the ſaid *William Penn*) for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do grant free, full and abſolute power, by virtue of theſe preſents, to him and his heirs, to his, and their deputies and lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the ſaid country, to ordain, make and enact, and, under his and their ſeals, to publiſh any laws whatſoever, for the raiſing of money for public uſes of the ſaid province, or for any other end, appertaining either unto the public ſtate, peace, or ſafety of the ſaid country, or unto the private utility of particular perſons, according unto their beſt diſcretion, and with the advice, aſſent and approbation of the freemen of the ſaid country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates, or deputies, whom, for the enacting of the ſaid laws,

Power to make laws, &c.

laws, when, and as often as need ſhall require, we will that the ſaid *William Penn*, and his heirs ſhall aſſemble, in ſuch ſort and form, as to him and them ſhall ſeem beſt, and the ſame laws duly to execute, unto and upon all people, within the ſaid country and limits thereof. 1681.

With the Aſſembly, &c.

Section V.

"And we do likewiſe give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, and to his heirs, and their deputies and lieutenants, full power and authority to appoint and eſtabliſh any Judges and Juſtices, Magiſtrates, and other officers whatſoever, (for the probates of wills, and for the granting of adminiſtration within the precincts aforeſaid, and with what power ſoever, and in ſuch form, as to the ſaid *William Penn*, or his heirs ſhall ſeem moſt convenient: alſo to remit, releaſe, pardon and aboliſh (whether before judgment or after) all crimes and offences whatſoever, committed within the ſaid country, againſt the laws, (treaſon and wilful and malicious murder only excepted, and, in thoſe caſes, to grant reprieves, until our pleaſure may be known therein) and to do all and every other thing and things, which unto the complete eſtabliſhment of juſtice, unto courts and tribunals, forms of judicature, and manner of proceedings do belong, although, in theſe preſents, expreſs mention be not made thereof; and by judges, by them delegated, to award proceſs, hold pleas, and determine, in all the ſaid courts and tribunals, all actions, ſuits and cauſes whatſoever, as well criminal as civil, perſonal, real and mixt; which laws, ſo as aforeſaid, to be publiſhed, our pleaſure is, and ſo we enjoin, require and command, ſhall be moſt abſolute and available in law; and that all the liege people and ſubjects of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do obſerve and keep the ſame inviolably in thoſe parts, ſo far as they concern them, under the pain therein expreſſed, or to be expreſſed.

Power to make judges and other officers, &c.

Power of pardoning, reprieving, &c.

What may be done by the judges, &c.

Provided

Proviſo. *Provided nevertheleſs*, That the ſame laws be conſonant to reaſon, and not repugnant, or contrary, but, (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws and ſtatutes, and rights of this our kingdom of *England;* and ſaving and reſerving to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, the receiving, hearing and determining of the appeal and appeals of all, or any perſon, or perſons, of, in, or belonging to the territories aforeſaid, or touching any judgment to be there made, or given.

The hearing of appeals reſerved.

Section VI.

"And, for as much as, in the government of ſo great a country, ſudden accidents do often happen, whereunto it will be neceſſary to apply remedy, before the freeholders of the ſaid province, or their delegates, or deputies, can be aſſembled, to the making of laws; neither will it be convenient, that inſtantly upon every ſuch occaſion, ſo great a multitude ſhould be called together: Therefore (for the better government of the ſaid country) we will and ordain, and by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do grant unto the ſaid *William Penn* and his heirs, by themſelves, or by their Magiſtrates and officers, in that behalf, duly to be ordained, as aforeſaid, to make and conſtitute fit and wholeſome ordinances, from time to time, within the ſaid country to be kept and obſerved, as well for the preſervation of the peace, as for the better government of the people there inhabiting; and publicly to notify the ſame to all perſons, whom the ſame doth, or may any ways concern. Which ordinances our will and pleaſure is ſhall be obſerved inviolably within the ſaid province, under the pains therein to be expreſſed, ſo as the ſaid ordinances be conſonant to reaſon, and be not repugnant nor contrary, but (ſo far as conveniently may be) agreeable with the laws of our kingdom of *England*, and ſo as the ſaid ordinances

Power to make ordinances, &c.

be

be not extended, in any ſort, to bind, change, or take away the right, or intereſt of any perſon, or perſons, for, or in, their life, members, freehold, goods, or chattels. And our farther will and pleaſure is, That the laws for regulating and governing of property within the ſaid province, as well as for the deſcent and enjoyment of lands, as likewiſe for the enjoyment and ſucceſſion of goods and chattels, and likewiſe as to felonies, ſhall be and continue the ſame, as they ſhall be for the time being by the general courſe of the law in our kingdom of *England*, until the ſaid laws ſhall be altered by the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs or aſſigns, and by the freemen of the ſaid province, their delegates, or deputies, or the greater part of them. 1681

Their extent.

Property, &c. regulated by the laws of England, till altered, &c.

Section VII.

" And to the end that the ſaid *William Penn*, or his heirs, or other the planters, owners, or inhabitants of the ſaid province may not, at any time hereafter (by miſconſtruction of the power aforeſaid) through inadvertency, or deſign, depart from that faith and due allegiance, which by the laws of this our realm of *England*, they and all our ſubjects, in our dominions and territories, always owe to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, by colour of any extent, or largeneſs of powers hereby given, or pretended to be given, or by force or colour of any laws hereafter to be made, in the ſaid province, by virtue of any ſuch powers; Our farther will and pleaſure is, that a tranſcript or duplicate, of all laws, which ſhall be ſo, as aforeſaid, made and publiſhed within the ſaid province, ſhall within five years after the making thereof, be tranſmitted and delivered to the Privy Council, for the time being, of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors: And if any of the ſaid laws, within the ſpace of ſix months after that they ſhall be ſo tranſmitted and delivered, be declared by us, our heirs and

Duplicate of all laws to be tranſmitted to the privy council, &c.

1681. ſucceſſors, in our, or their Privy Council, inconſiſtent with the ſovereignty, or lawful prerogative of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, or contrary to the faith and allegiance, due to the legal government of this realm, from the ſaid *William Penn*, or his heirs, or of the planters and inhabitants of the ſaid province, and that thereupon any of the ſaid laws ſhall be adjudged and declared to be void by us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, under our, or their privy ſeal, that then, and from thenceforth ſuch laws, concerning which ſuch judgment and declaration ſhall be made, ſhall become void: otherwiſe the ſaid laws, ſo tranſmitted, ſhall remain and ſtand in full force, according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

Section VIII.

Liberty for King's ſubjects to tranſport themſelves, &c.

"Furthermore, that this new colony may the more happily increaſe by the multitude of people reſorting thither; Therefore, we, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give and grant, by theſe preſents, power, licence, and liberty unto all the liege people and ſubjects, both preſent and future, of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, (excepting thoſe, who ſhall be eſpecially forbidden) to tranſport themſelves and families unto the ſaid country, with ſuch convenient ſhipping, as, by the laws of this our kingdom of *England*, they ought to uſe, and with fitting proviſion; paying only the cuſtoms therefore due, and there to ſettle themſelves, dwell and inhabit and plant, for the public, and their own private advantage.

Section IX.

And their goods, merchandiſe, &c.

"And furthermore, that our ſubjects may be the rather encouraged to undertake this expedition, with ready and chearful minds, *Know ye*, That we, of our ſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, do give and grant, by virtue of theſe preſents, as well unto the ſaid *William Penn*, and

and his heirs, as to all others, who ſhall, from time to time, repair unto the ſaid country, full licence to lade and freight, in any ports whatſoever of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, according to the laws made, or to be made, within our kingdom of *England*, and unto the ſaid country, by them, their ſervants or aſſigns, to tranſport all and ſingular their goods, wares and merchandizes, as likewiſe all ſorts of grain whatſoever, and all other things whatſoever, neceſſary for food, or cloathing, not prohibited, by the laws and ſtatutes of our kingdom and dominions, to be carried out of the ſaid kingdom, without any let, or moleſtation of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, or of any of the officers of us, our heirs or ſucceſſors; ſaving always to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, the legal impoſitions, cuſtoms, or other duties and payments for the ſaid wares and merchandizes, by any law or ſtatute, due, or to be due, to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors. 1681.

Paying the cuſtoms.

Section X.

" And we do further, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, free and abſolute power, to divide the ſaid country and iſlands into towns, hundreds and counties, and to erect and incorporate towns into burroughs, and burroughs into cities, and to make and conſtitute fairs and markets therein, with all other convenient privileges and immunities, according to the merits of the inhabitants, and the fitneſs of the places, and to do all, and every other thing and things, touching the premiſes, which to him, or them, ſhall ſeem meet and requiſite; albeit they be ſuch, as of their own nature might otherwiſe require a more ſpecial commandment and warrant, than, in theſe preſents, is expreſſed.

Power to divide the country into diſtricts, &c.

Section XI.

" We will alſo, and, by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, we do give and grant li-

1681. cence, by this our charter, unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, and to all the inhabitants and dwellers in the province aforeſaid, both preſent and to come, to import, or unlade, by themſelves, or their ſervants, factors, or aſſigns, all merchandizes and goods whatſoever, that ſhall ariſe of the fruits and commodities of the ſaid province, either by land or ſea, into any of the ports of us, our heirs, or ſucceſſors, in our kingdom of *England*, and not into any other country whatſoever: and we give him full power to diſpoſe of the ſaid goods, in the ſaid ports; and, if need be, within one year after the unlading of the ſame, to lade the ſaid merchandize and goods again, into the ſame, or other ſhips, and to tranſport the ſame into any other countries, either of our dominions, or foreign, according to law; provided always, that they pay ſuch cuſtoms and impoſitions, ſubſidies and duties for the ſame, to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, as the reſt of our ſubjects of our kingdom of *England*, for the time being, ſhall be bound to pay, and do obſerve the acts of navigation, and other laws, in that behalf made.

To import and export produce into and from England.

Paying the cuſtoms, &c.

Section XII.

"And furthermore, of our ample and ſpecial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we do, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, full and abſolute power and authority, to make, erect and conſtitute, within the ſaid province, and the iſles and inlets aforeſaid, ſuch and ſo many ſea ports, harbours, creeks, havens, keys, and other places, for diſcharging and unlading of goods and merchandize, out of the ſhips, boats, and other veſſels, and landing them unto ſuch, and ſo many places, and with ſuch rights, juriſdictions, liberties and privileges, unto the ſaid ports belonging, as to him and them ſhall ſeem moſt expedient; and that all, and ſingular the ſhips, boats and other

Power to conſtitute ports, &c.

other veſſels, which ſhall come for merchandize and trade, into the ſaid province, or out of the ſame, ſhall be laden, or unladen, only at ſuch ports, as ſhall be created and conſtituted by the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs, or aſſigns, (any uſe, cuſtom or thing to the contrary notwithſtanding.) Provided, that the ſaid *William Penn* and his heirs, and the Lieutenants and Governors, for the time being, ſhall admit and receive in and about all ſuch havens, ports, creeks and keys, all officers and their deputies, who ſhall, from time to time, be appointed for that purpoſe by the farmers, or commiſſioners of our cuſtoms for the time being.

Proviſo for admiſſion of the the King's officers, &c.

Section XIII.

" And we do further appoint and ordain, and by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, we do grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, that he, the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, may, from time to time, for ever, have and enjoy the cuſtoms and ſubſidies, in the ports, harbours and other creeks, and places aforeſaid, within the province aforeſaid, payable, or due for merchandize and wares there to be laded and unladed, the ſaid cuſtoms and ſubſidies to be reaſonably aſſeſſed, upon any occaſion, by themſelves and the people there, as aforeſaid to be aſſembled, to whom we give power by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, upon juſt cauſe, and due proportion, to aſſeſs and impoſe the ſame; ſaving unto us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſuch impoſitions and cuſtoms, as, by act of Parliament, are, and ſhall be, appointed.

Power to aſſeſs cuſtoms on goods, &c.

Section XIV.

" And it is our farther will and pleaſure, that the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, ſhall, from time to time, conſtitute and appoint an *Attorney*, or agent, to reſide in, or near our city of *London;* who ſhall make known the place where he ſhall

The Proprietor to appoint an Attorney, to reſide in London, &c.

ſhall dwell, or may be found, unto the clerks of our privy council, for the time being, or one of them, and ſhall be ready to appear in any of our courts, at *Weſtminſter*, to anſwer for any miſdemeanor, that ſhall be committed, or by any wilful default, or neglect, permitted by the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs or aſſigns, againſt the laws of trade and navigation; and after it ſhall be aſcertained, in any of our courts, what damages we, or our heirs, or ſucceſſors, ſhall have ſuſtained by ſuch default, or neglect, the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs, or aſſigns, ſhall pay the ſame within one year, after ſuch taxation, and demand thereof from ſuch attorney; or in caſe there ſhall be no ſuch attorney by the ſpace of one year, or ſuch attorney ſhall not make payment of ſuch damages, within the ſpace of a year, and anſwer ſuch other forfeitures and penalties, within the ſaid time, as by acts of parliament, in *England*, are and ſhall be provided according to the true intent and meaning of theſe preſents; then it ſhall be lawful for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, to ſeize and reſume the government of the ſaid province or country, and the ſame to retain, until payment ſhall be made thereof: but notwithſtanding any ſuch ſeizure, or reſumption of the government, nothing concerning the propriety, or ownerſhip, of any lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, goods or chattels of any of the adventurers, planters or owners, other than the reſpective offenders there, ſhall any ways be affected or moleſted thereby.

Section XV.

Peace and War to be obſerved as in Great Britain.

"Provided always, and our will and pleaſure is, that neither the ſaid *William Penn*, nor his heirs, nor any other, the inhabitants of the ſaid province, ſhall, at any time hereafter, have or maintain, any correſpondence with any other king, prince or ſtate, or with any of their ſubjects, who ſhall then be in war againſt us, our heirs and ſucceſſors; nor ſhall

ſhall the ſaid *William Penn*, or his heirs or any other inhabitants of the ſaid province, make war, or do any act of hoſtility againſt any other king, prince, or ſtate, or any of their ſubjects, who ſhall then be in league or amity with us, our heirs and ſucceſſors.

Section XVI.

" And becauſe, in ſo remote a country, and ſituate near many barbarous nations, the incurſions as well of the ſavages themſelves, as of other enemies, pirates and robbers, may probably be feared; Therefore, we have given, and, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give power, by theſe preſents, to the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, by themſelves, or their captains, or other their officers, to levy, muſter and train all ſorts of men, of what condition ſoever, or whereſoever born, in the ſaid province of *Pennſylvania*, for the time being, and to make war, and to purſue the enemies and robbers aforeſaid, as well by ſea as by land, even, without the limits of the ſaid province, and, by God's aſſiſtance, to vanquiſh and take them; and being taken, to put them to death, by the law of war, or to ſave them; at their pleaſure, and to do all and every other thing, which unto the charge and office of a captain general of an army belongeth, or hath accuſtomed to belong, as fully and freely as any captain general of an army hath ever had the ſame.

Power of a captain-general granted, &c.

Section XVII.

" And furthermore, of our ſpecial grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and, by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, full and abſolute power, licence and authority, that he, the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, from time to time hereafter for ever, at his or their own will

Power to alien the premiſes.

will and pleaſure, may aſſign, alien, grant, demiſe, or enfeoff of the premiſes ſo many, and ſuch parts and parcels to him, or them, that ſhall be willing to purchaſe the ſame, as they ſhall think fit; to have and to hold to them, the ſaid perſon, or perſons willing to take and purchaſe, their heirs and aſſigns, in fee ſimple, or fee tail, or for the term of life, lives, or years, to be held of the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs, or aſſigns, as of the ſaid ſeigniory of *Windſor*, by ſuch ſervices, cuſtoms, or rents, as ſhall ſeem meet to the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs, or aſſigns, and not immediately of us, our heirs or ſucceſſors.

Section XVIII.

Power to the purchaſers to hold by the Proprietor's grant.

" And to the ſame perſon, or perſons, and to all and every of them, we do give and grant, by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, licence, authority and power, that ſuch perſon or perſons, may take the premiſes, or any parcel thereof, of the aforeſaid *William Penn*, his heirs, or aſſigns, and the ſame to hold to themſelves, their heirs and aſſigns, in what eſtate of inheritance ſoever, in fee ſimple, or in fee tail, or otherwiſe, as to him the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs or aſſigns, ſhall ſeem expedient: The ſtatute made, in the parliament of *Edward*, the ſon of King *Henry* late King of *England*, our predeceſſor (commonly called the ſtatute, " *Quia Emptores Terrarum*," lately publiſhed in our kingdom of *England*) in in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Section XIX.

Leave to erect manors, &c.

" And by theſe preſents, we give and grant licence unto the ſaid *William Penn* and his heirs, and likewiſe to all, and every ſuch perſon, or perſons, to whom the ſaid *William Penn*, or his heirs, ſhall, at any time hereafter, grant any eſtate, or inheritance, as aforeſaid, to erect any parcels of land, within the province aforeſaid, into *manors*, by and with the licence, to be firſt had and obtained, for that

that purpoſe, under the hand and ſeal of the ſaid *William Penn*, or his heirs; and, in every of the ſaid *manors*, to have and hold a *Court-Baron*, with all things whatſoever, which to a *Court-Baron* do belong, and to have and to hold *View of Frank Pledge*, for the conſervation of the peace, and the better government of thoſe parts, by themſelves, or their ſtewards, or by the lords for the time being, of the manors to be deputed, when they ſhall be erected, and, in the ſame, to uſe all things belonging to the *View of Frank Pledge*. And we do further grant licence and authority, That every ſuch perſon, or perſons, who ſhall erect any ſuch manor, or manors, as aforeſaid, ſhall, or may, grant all, or any part of his ſaid land to any perſon, or perſons, in fee ſimple, or any other eſtate of inheritance to be held of the ſaid manors reſpectively, ſo as no further tenure ſhall be created, but that upon all further, or other alienations thereafter to be made, the ſaid lands ſo aliened ſhall be held of the ſame lord and his heirs, of whom the aliener did then before hold, and by the like rents and ſervices, which were before due and accuſtomed. 1681.

Section XX.

" And furthermore, our pleaſure is, and by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, we do covenant and grant to and with the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, that we, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall, at no time hereafter, ſet, or make, or cauſe to be ſet, or made, any impoſition, cuſtom, or other taxation, rate, or contribution whatſoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforeſaid province, for their lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, within the ſaid province, or in and upon any goods and merchandizes within the province, or to be laden, or unladen within the ports, or harbours of the ſaid province, unleſs the ſame be with the conſent of the

No tax, &c. without the conſent of the proprietor or people, or by act of parliament.

1681. the Proprietary, or Chief Governor, or Aſſembly, or by act of parliament in *England*.

Section XXI.

This declaration to be deemed an acquittance.

" And our pleaſure is, and, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, we charge and command, that this our declaration ſhall be from henceforth, from time to time, be received and allowed, in all our courts, and before all the judges of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, for a ſufficient lawful diſcharge, payment and acquittance; commanding all the officers and miniſters of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, and enjoining them upon pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure, that they do not preſume, at any time, to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premiſes, or that do, in any ſort, withſtand the ſame; but, that they be, at all times, aiding and aſſiſting, as is fitting, to the ſaid *William Penn*, and his heirs, and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforeſaid, their ſervants, miniſters, factors and aſſigns, in the full uſe and fruition of the benefit of this our charter.

No officer, &c. to counteract this charter, &c.

Section XXII.

Proviſion for a preacher, &c. on application to the biſhop of London, &c.

" And our farther pleaſure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, charge and require, That, if any of the inhabitants of the ſaid province, to the number of twenty, ſhall, at any time hereafter, be deſirous, and ſhall, by any writing, or by any perſon deputed by them, ſignify ſuch their deſire to the biſhop of *London*, for the time being, that any preacher, or preachers, to be approved of by the ſaid biſhop, may be ſent unto them, for their inſtruction; that then ſuch preacher, or preachers, ſhall and may reſide within the ſaid province, without any denial, or moleſtation whatſoever.

Section XXIII.

" And, if perchance hereafter any doubt or queſtion ſhould ariſe concerning the true ſenſe and meaning

meaning of any word, clauſe, or ſentence, contained in this our preſent charter, we will, ordain and command, that, at all times, and in all things, ſuch interpretation be made thereof, and allowed, in any of our courts whatſoever, as ſhall be adjudged moſt advantageous and favorable unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns: *Provided always*, no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due unto us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, may ſuffer any prejudice or diminution; although expreſs mention be not made, in theſe preſents, of the true yearly value, or certainty of the premiſes, or any part thereof, or of other gifts and grants, made by us, and our progenitors, or predeceſſors, unto the ſaid *William Penn:* Any ſtatute, act, ordinance, proviſion, proclamation, or reſtraint, heretofore had, made, publiſhed, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoever, to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding. *In Witneſs* whereof we have cauſed theſe our letters to he made patent: *Witneſs Ourſelf*, at *Weſtminſter*, the fourth day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of our reign, Annoque Domini one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-one.

1681.

Double meaning of any part, to be in favor of William Penn, &c.

Date.

"*By writ of Privy Seal,*

PIGOTT."

By the firſt ſection of this charter the extent and boundary of the province are expreſſed in ſuch plain terms, that it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed they could not well, or eaſily, be miſunderſtood: three degrees of latitude, included and bounded, between the beginning of the fortieth, and the beginning of the forty-third degree of north latitude, equal to about two hundred and eight *Engliſh* ſtatute miles, north and ſouth, with five degrees of longitude, weſtward from *Delaware* river, which, in the parrallel of forty-one degrees, are equal to nearly

Of the boundary between Maryland and Pennſylvania.

1681. nearly two hundred and ſixty-five miles, eaſt and weſt, are as clearly and manifeſtly expreſſed to be granted to the proprietary of *Pennſylvania*, as words can do it; and we are otherwiſe ſufficiently certified that the ſame ſpace, or quantity of land, was intended by the King to be included in the ſaid grant; yet the diſpute between the proprietaries of *Maryland* and *Pennſylvania*, on this point, was afterwards remarkable, and of many years continuance; occaſioned by each of the reſpective proprietaries claiming to himſelf the whole ſpace, or extent, of the land, contained in the fortieth degree of latitude; which was the north boundary of *Maryland*, by patent of that province; and which, though prior to that of *Pennſylvania*, ſpecifies, or aſſigns, no particular part of the ſaid degree, for the boundary, as the *Pennſylvania* grant doth: which ſpace, or degree, containing near ſeventy *Engliſh* miles in breadth, north and ſouth, and in length weſtward, ſo far as *Maryland* extends, was no ſmall matter to occaſion a diſpute.

But notwithſtanding the clearneſs of the terms, by which the boundary between the ſaid provinces is expreſſed in their reſpective charters, as above mentioned, yet this diſpute was, at length, in the year 1732, finally ſettled chiefly in favor of *Maryland;* by fixing the ſaid boundary between the two provinces, only fifteen miles due ſouth of the moſt ſoutherly part of *Philadelphia*, or in the parallel of 39 degrees, 44 minutes nearly, inſtead of 39 degrees, or at the beginning of the fortieth degree, as mentioned and intended by charter; which renders the real extent of *Pennſylvania*, north and ſouth, only about 155 miles, inſtead of 208, and makes the ſquare miles, in the province about 41,000, and the number of acres, 26,288,000 or near twenty-ſix millions.

Real extent and content of Pennſylvania at preſent.

In conſequence of this charter, on the ſecond day of April, next enſuing, the King iſſued a *declaration*

tion to the inhabitants and planters of *Pennſylvania*, expreſſive of the grant, deſcribing the bounds of the province, and enjoining them to yield all due obedience to the proprietary, &c. according to the powers granted by the ſaid charter."* 1681.

The King iſſues a declaration.

Willam Penn, having obtained theſe proper requiſites, immediately publiſhed ſuch account of the province, as could then be given; with the royal charter, and other papers relative thereto, offering eaſy terms of ſale for lands, *viz.* forty ſhillings ſterling for one hundred acres, and *one ſhilling* per annum

W. Penn publiſhes an account of the province, &c.

* This declaration was as follows, *viz.*

"*Charles R.*

Whereas his majeſty, in conſideration of the great merit and faithful ſervices of Sir *William Penn*, deceaſed, and for divers other good cauſes, him thereunto moving, hath been graciouſly pleaſed, by *letters-patent*, bearing date the fourth day of March, laſt paſt, to give and grant unto *William Penn*, Eſquire, ſon and heir of the ſaid Sir *William Penn*, all that tract of land in *America*, called by the name of *Pennſylvania*, as the ſame is bounded, on the eaſt, by *Delaware* river, from twelve miles diſtance northward of *New-caſtle* town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the ſaid river doth extend ſo far northward; and, if the ſaid river ſhall not extend ſo far northward, then, by the ſaid river, ſo far as it doth extend, and from the head of the ſaid river, the eaſtern bounds to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the ſaid river, unto the ſaid three and fortieth degree; and the ſaid province to extend weſtward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the ſaid eaſtern bounds; and to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and on the ſouth, by a circle drawn at twelve miles diſtance, from *New-caſtle*, northward and weſtward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, and then by a ſtraight line weſtward to the limit of longitude, above mentioned; together with all powers, preheminences and juriſdictions, neceſſary for the government of the ſaid province, as by the ſaid letters patent, reference being thereunto had, doth more at large appear.

"His majeſty doth, therefore, hereby publiſh and declare his royal will and pleaſure, that all perſons ſettled, or inhabiting within the limits of the ſaid province, do yield all due obedience to the ſaid *Willam Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, as abſolute proprietaries and governors thereof, as alſo to the deputy, or deputies, agents or lieutenants, lawfully commiſſioned by him, or them, according to the powers and authorities, granted by the ſaid letters patent, wherewith his Majeſty expects and requires a ready compliance from all perſons whom it may concern, as they tender his Majeſty's diſpleaſure.

"Given at the Court, at *White-hall*, the ſecond day of April 1681, in the three and thirtieth year of our reign."

By his Majeſty's ſpecial command,

CONWAY."

1681. annum forever;* and good conditions of settlement, to such as chose to be adventurers in the new country.

This

* This *one shilling* for ever, is the original institution of the *Quit-rents* in the province; which is a compact as old, and to be held equally binding and inviolable, as that for the first purchase money:—Respecting which, in the first, or early publications, concerning the province, I find the following observations then made, *viz.*

"The province is cast at a penny an acre; but he sets apart several parcels, which he calls shares; these he sells saving a *Quit-rent*, necessary to secure the title and tenure; that is, whereas five thousand acres (which make a share) come, at a penny an acre, to 20 pounds, 16 shillings and 8 pence, yearly. For one hundred pounds paid down, he sells that yearly rent for 18 pounds, 6 shillings and 8 pence; and reserves but fifty shillings; which may be reduced, as the purchaser pleaseth; but something must be reserved, for security of the title," &c. Again—

"The shares I sell be certain, as to the number of acres; *that is to say*, every one shall contain five thousand acres; the price, one hundred pounds; and for the *Quit-rent*, one *English* shilling or the value of it, yearly, for a hundred acres; which, such as will, may now, or hereafter, buy off, to an inconsiderable matter; but, as I hold by a small rent, of the King, so all must hold of me, by a small rent, for their own security," &c.

In the disputes, which afterwards happened, between some of the Lieutenant Governors, and the Assemblies, these *quit-rents* notwithstanding appear to have been regarded, by the latter, as a grievance; and the application of them has been insinuated, as intended, at first, by the proprietor himself, for the support of the government, more especially that of the Lieutenant Governors: But as I find nothing authentic, on record, to countenance this insinuation, I shall here insert part of a reply of one of these governors to the Assembly, in 1708, on the subject, in the following words; which I have never seen confuted, *viz.*

———"It is very reasonable to believe that the proprietary, having sold lands, to a great value, received considerable sums for them; and we find he reserved a *quit-rent* on them all; but, then, upon enquiry, I perceive, that, in consideration of the money, and those *quit-rents*, the proprietary, by firm, but common deeds of sale, granted the purchasers a free estate of large tracts of land, which they, or some in their behalf, now enjoy; and, am told, that there is not, in any of these deeds, one warranty, to defend the possessor against hostile, or invasive, force, or one covenant, that mentions government, or the support of it, in any of them all; but that *forty shillings* down, and *one shilling* yearly, was the consideration paid, on the one hand, for an hundred acres of land granted on the other.

"I am sensible, gentlemen, I have been told of these *quit-rents* once before, to the great surprize of those, that heard it, and knew much more of the matter, than I could, at that time; but, upon a full scrutiny into the whole, by some whom it concerned, I perceived there could not be one trace found of any such compact, but in the pretended memory of two or three persons, who were noted to have stronger prejudices, than reason; and who, in these points, were not too much to be relied on; and was informed, that, for the many years before this government wanted supplies, this notion had never once been heard of, but was just then started

This offer and invitation, to the people, he mixed, or qualified, with such Christian caution and advice, as indicated a real concern both for their temporal and eternal felicity, which he closed in these words:— 1681.

Part of William Penn's advice to the adventurer's, &c.

———"To conclude, I desire all my dear country-folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but from a solid, mind; having, above all things, an eye to the providence of God, in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such, at least, to have the permission, if not the good liking, of their near relations; for that is both natural, and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this will natural affections be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between them; in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours; and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us, and our posterity. Amen."

The free society of traders, &c.

On publishing these proposals, a great number of purchasers soon appeared, in *London*, *Liverpool*, and especially about *Bristol;* among these were *James Claypole*, *Nicholas Moore*, *Philip Forde*, and others, who formed a company, called, *The free society of Traders in Pennsylvania.* These last mentioned persons, with *William Sharloe*, *Edward Pierce*, *John Simcock*, *Thomas Bracy* and *Edward Brooks*, having purchased 20,000 acres of land, in trust for the said company, published articles of trade,

started, and perceived it to be greedily laid hold of by some, whose narrowness made every pretence, to save money, very acceptable; and partly by others, to whom any kind of handle, to obstruct business, was no less agreeable; but was entirely exploded by such as were much better judges, from clearer reasons, and better opportunities of knowing; so that, upon the whole, gentlemen, I find the proprietary, and those concerned for him, account, that those *quit-rents*, and the government here, are no more related, than his estate, in *Europe* is to that of *Great Britain*."—

1681. trade, and entered into divers branches thereof themſelves; which were ſoon improved upon by others.

CHAPTER II.

Conditions, or conceſſions publiſhed.—Sailing of the firſt ſhip for Pennſylvania.—Joſeph Kirkbride, &c.—The Proprietor's manner of treating the Indians.—His letter to them.—Firſt frame of government and laws publiſhed.—Part of the preface to the ſame.—Purport of the frame, and one of the laws.—Duke of York's deed of re-leaſe to William Penn.—The territories obtained, &c.—Boundary between the territories and Maryland.—

The proprietary publiſhes conditions, or conceſſions, &c.

THE proprietary, having already made conſiderable ſales of land, agreed with the adventurers and purchaſers on the firſt *deed of ſettlement*, which in part, may be regarded as an eſſay towards a *conſtitution* of government, according to the powers granted him by charter. It conſiſts chiefly of certain rules of ſettlement, of treating the *Indians* with juſtice and friendſhip; and of keeping the peace, agreeable to the cuſtoms, uſages and laws of *England*, to be obſerved on their arrival in the country, and there to be altered, on occaſion. This compact is publiſhed, under the title of, "*Certain conditions, or conceſſions, agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennſylvania; and thoſe, who are the adventurers and purchaſers, in the ſame province, the 11th. of July*, 1681."* Which may be ſeen at length, in the appendix, No. I.

* One of the ſtipulations in this inſtrument ſhews the provident care and knowledge of the proprietary, in a matter, whoſe continued neglect will doubtleſs, in future, be found more important to the country than has been imagined, *viz.*

Three ſhips ſailed for *Pennſylvania* this year; two from *London*, and one from *Briſtol*. The *John* and *Sarah*, from *London*, commanded by *Henry Smith*, is ſaid to have been the firſt that arrived there; the *Amity*, *Richard Dimon*, maſter, from the ſame place, with paſſengers, was blown off, to the *Weſt-Indies;* and did not arrive at the province, till the ſpring of the next year; the *Briſtol Factor*, *Roger Drew*, commander, arrived at the place, where *Cheſter* now ſtands, on the 11th. of December; where the paſſengers, ſeeing ſome houſes, went on ſhore, at *Robert Wade's* landing, near the lower ſide of *Cheſter*-creek; and, the river having froze up that night, the paſſengers remained there all the winter.* 1681.

The firſt three ſhips ſail for Pennſylvania, &c.

" That, in clearing the ground, care be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, eſpecially to preſerve *oak* and *mulberries*, for *ſilk* and *ſhipping*."

* Among the paſſengers, in theſe ſhips, were *John Otter*, *Nathaniel Allen* and *Edmund Lovett*, with their families; and ſeveral ſervants of Governor *Penn*.—*Joſeph Kirkbride*, then a boy, being one of them, who afterwards became a perſon of importance, in the province. He is an inſtance, among many others that might be given, in the early time of this country, of advancement from low beginning to rank of eminence and eſteem, through induſtry, with a virtuous and prudent conduct.—The difficulties, hardſhips and trials of many of the well diſpoſed early ſettlers, however low in the world, rather viſibly tended to their promotion, and, in ſome reſpects rendered them more uſeful and worthy members of ſociety, in this new country; while others, even poſſeſſed of handſome patrimonies, at firſt, but more improvident, and leſs accuſtomed to encounter with ſuch difficulties, &c. more commonly went to ruin, or were reduced to indigence; beſides, a dependance on ſuch inheritances, even with otherwiſe prudent œconomy, in the early time of this country, where, and when ſervants could ſcarcely be had, or kept, by any means, ſeveral worthy perſons, who had not been uſed to labor, found, by ſorrowful experience, did not anſwer here, as in *Europe;* ſo that for a ſeries of years, thoſe who came hither more wealthy, and had before been uſed to a different manner of life, ſometimes loſt much of what they had poſſeſſed, and were reduced to greater ſtraits and trials, than the more poor and laborious part of the ſettlers, who were generally more numerous, and got eſtates;—Hence it became noted for being a good poor man's country, &c.

This *Joſeph Kirkbride*, above mentioned, was afterwards a preacher, among the *Quakers;* and, for many years in the magiſtracy, and frequently in the Aſſembly. He is ſaid to have been an exemplary and zealous promoter of the religion of his profeſſion; and a very ſerviceable perſon in divers reſpects and capacities. He lived in *Buck's county;* where he died in the Firſt month, 1737.

1681. In one of these ships sailed *William Markham*, a relation of the proprietary; whom he had appointed his Deputy Governor, and joined with him certain commissioners, to confer with the *Indians*, or *Aboriginies*, of the country, respecting their lands; and to confirm with them a league of peace. These Commissioners he enjoined to treat them with all possible candour, justice and humanity.

Commissioners sent, &c.

To cultivate a right understanding with these natives, by a kind, gentle and just treatment and usage, was an affair of great importance to the future happiness and prosperity of the province; which good policy alone, even, from views of temporal interest, in such a case, would point out; yet notwithstanding this, the unhappy effects of a contrary conduct, or a neglect in this particular, had been frequently and long experienced, in some other provinces, to their great detriment, and ruinous consequences.

Importance of treating the Indians well.

But *William Penn* appears to have acted from higher, and more disinterested motives, in reference to these people, than from those of mere temporal advantage only; which, it is manifest, he never received from the province, in any respect whatever, during a life of near thirty-seven years continuance after this time; but lost much by it. His ideas were more exalted, than to be confined within the narrow view of a temporary interest alone, and his conduct respecting these poor, ignorant and savage people, declared his regard for universal justice, and the natural rights of mankind; tending to impress on their minds, as was his concern for all others, a proper sense of eternal justice, and the happy effects of friendship, love and peace; than which nothing can have a stronger influence on the rational and considerate mind, to keep it within the due bounds of justice and truth. The first specimen, that I find, of his manner of treating

William Penn's conduct respecting the Indians.

ing theſe people, appears in the following letter, which he ſent them, on this occaſion, by his deputy and commiſſioners; wherein, without perplexing and confuſing their untutored ideas, with fine-ſpun and unintelligible notions, and forms of belief, ſo common to ſome eccleſiaſtics, he adapts his ſubject to their underſtandings, in the following plain and ſimple manner. 1681.

His letter to them.

" *London, the 18th. of the Eighth month* 1681.

" *My Friends,*

" There is a great God and power, that hath made the world, and all things therein; to whom you and I, and all people owe their being, and well-being; and to whom you and I muſt one day give an account, for all, that we do in the world.—

" This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleaſed to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the King of the country, where I live, hath given me a great province therein; but I deſire to enjoy it *with your love and conſent;* that we may always live together, as neighbours and friends; elſe what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and deſtroy one another, but to live ſoberly and kindly together, in the world? now I would have you well obſerve, that I am very ſenſible of the unkindneſs and injuſtice, that have been too much exerciſed towards you, by the people of theſe parts of the world; who have ſought themſelves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodneſs and patience unto you; which I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and cauſed great grudging and animoſities, ſometimes to the ſhedding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not ſuch a man; as is well known in my

1681. my own country. I have great love and regard towards you; and deſire to win and gain your love and friendſhip, by a kind, juſt and peaceable life; and the people I ſend, are of the ſame mind, and ſhall, in all things, behave themſelves accordingly; and, if in any thing, any ſhall offend you, or your people, you ſhall have a full and ſpeedy ſatiſfaction for the ſame, by an equal number of juſt men, on both ſides; that, by no means you may have juſt occaſion of being offended againſt them.

William Penn's letter to the Indians.

"I ſhall ſhortly come to you myſelf; at which time, we may more largely and freely confer and diſcourſe of theſe matters; in the mean time I have ſent my commiſſioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace; let me deſire you to be kind to them, and the people, and receive theſe *preſents* and *tokens*, which I have ſent you, as a teſtimony of my *good will* to you, and my reſolution to live juſtly, peaceably and friendly with you."

"I am your loving friend,

"*William Penn.*"

1682. In the beginning of the year 1682, *William Penn* publiſhed his frame of government, and certain laws, agreed on, in *England*, by himſelf and the purchaſers under him, entitled, "*The frame of the government of the province of Pennſylvania, in America; together with certain laws, agreed upon, in England, by the Governor, and divers freemen of the aforeſaid province. To be further explained and confirmed there, by the firſt Provincial Council, that ſhall be held, if they ſee meet.*" Which *frame*, &c. may be ſeen in the appendix, No. II.

William Penn publiſhes a frame of government and laws.

In the preface to this *frame* is exhibited a ſketch of the author's ſentiments on the nature of government, in general, his reflections on the different modes of it, and his inducement for forming his. It may ſerve to give ſome idea of the judgment of the *Quakers*, in general, on this ſubject, reſpecting

respecting which they have frequently been misrepresented; I shall, therefore, here give the following extract from it.—The author, after having quoted several parts of the sacred scriptures, relative to government, proceeds, in the following words: 1682.

Part of the preface to his frame of Government.

—"This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends; first, to terrify evil doers; secondly, to cherish those, that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption; and makes it as durable, in the world, as good men shall be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself; a thing sacred, in its institution and end. For, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil; and is, as such, a lower, yet an *emanation of the same divine power*, that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here; that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive, in its operation: but that is only to evil-doers; government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness and charity, as a more private society.

"They weakly err, that think there is no other use of government, than *correction*; which is the coarsest part of it: daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft, and daily necessary, make up much the greater part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had *Adam* never fallen; and will continue among men, on earth, under the highest attainments, they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed second *Adam*, the *Lord* from Heaven."—

Of modes of Government in general.

As to the modes, he further observes,—"I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies, have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government, that shall serve all places alike;"—"Any government,

1682. government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to thoſe laws; and more than this is tyranny, olygarchy, or confuſion."—

"There is hardly one *frame* of government, in the world, ſo ill deſigned by its firſt founders, that, in good hands, would not do well enough; and hiſtory tells us, the beſt, in ill ones, can do nothing, that is great and good; Witneſs, the *Jewiſh* and *Roman* ſtates. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion, men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, ſo by them are they ruined too. Wherefore, governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But, if men be bad, let government be never ſo good, they will endeavour to warp and ſpoil it to their turn."—"That, therefore, which makes a good government, muſt keep it, *viz.* Men of wiſdom and virtue; qualities, that, becauſe they deſcend not with worldy inheritances, muſt be carefully propagated by a *virtuous education of youth;* for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of *founders*, and the ſucceſſive *Magiſtracy*, than to their parents, for their private patrimonies."

Part of the preface to William Penn's frame of Government.

"Theſe conſiderations," (ſeveral of which, for brevity, are here omitted) of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneaſy to me to think of publiſhing the enſuing *frame*, and *conditional laws*, foreſeeing both the cenſures, they will meet with, from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occaſion they may give of diſcourſe beyond my deſign."

"But, next to the power of neceſſity (which is a ſollicitor, that will take no denial) this induced me to a compliance, that we have, (with reve-

rence to *God*, and good conſcience to *men*) to the beſt of our ſkill, contrived and compoſed the *frame* and *laws* of this government, to the great end of government, *viz. To ſupport power in reverence with the people, and to ſecure the people from the abuſe of power;* that they may be free by their juſt obedience, and the Magiſtrates honourable, for their juſt adminiſtration; for liberty without obedience is confuſion; and obedience without liberty is ſlavery. To carry this evenneſs, is partly owing to the conſtitution, and partly to the Magiſtracy: where either of theſe fail, government will be ſubject to convulſions; but where both are wanting, it muſt be totally ſubverted: then, where both meet, the government is like to endure; which I humbly pray, and hope, *God* will pleaſe to make the lot of this of *Pennſylvania*. Amen."

1682.

Reaſon for publiſhing his frame and laws.

The *frame* itſelf conſiſted of twenty-four articles; and the laws were forty. By the former the government was placed in the Governor and Freemen of the province, in the form of a provincial council, and General Aſſembly. By them conjunctively all laws were to be made, all officers appointed, and all public affairs tranſacted. Seventy-two was the number of the Council, to be choſen by the freemen; and though the Governor, or his deputy, was to be perpetual Preſident, he had but a treble vote. One-third part of them was, at firſt, to be choſen for three years, one-third for two years, and one-third for one year; in ſuch manner, that there might be an annual ſucceſſion of twenty-four new members, each to continue three years, and no longer.—The General Aſſembly was, the firſt year, to conſiſt of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and never to exceed five hundred. And this charter, or form of government, was not to be altered, changed, or diminiſhed, in any part, or clauſe of it, without the conſent of the Governor, his heirs, or aſſigns, and

Purport of the frame of govevnment.

1682. and ſix parts of ſeven of the freemen, in Provincial Council and Aſſembly. And to the ſame power only was the alteration of the laws made ſubject: theſe laws were of the nature of an original compact between the proprietary and the freemen; and, as ſuch, were reciprocally received and executed: one of them was,

One of the firſt laws.

"That all perſons living in this province, who confeſs and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal *God* to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that hold themſelves obliged, in conſcience, to live peaceably and juſtly in civil ſociety, ſhall, in no ways, be moleſted, or prejudiced, for their religious perſwaſion, or practice, in matters of faith and worſhip; nor ſhall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent, or maintain, any religious worſhip, place, or miniſtry whatever."

William Penn obtains the Duke of York's releaſe.

Morover, the proprietary, to prevent all future claim, or, even, pretence of claim, that might be made, of the province by the Duke of *York*, or his heirs, obtained of the ſaid Duke his deed of releaſe for the ſame, dated the 21ſt. of Auguſt, 1682.*

Beſides

* The releaſe of the Duke of *York* to *William Penn* was expreſſed, as follows—

"This indenture, made the one and twentieth day of Auguſt, in the four and thirtieth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord, *Charles* the ſecond, by the grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland* King, defender of the faith, &c. annoque Domini 1682, between the moſt illuſtious Prince, his Royal Higheſs, *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, Earl of *Ulſter*, &c. of the one part, and *William Penn*, Eſquire, ſon and heir of Sir *William Penn*, Knight, deceaſed, of the other part. Whereas, his ſaid Royal Highneſs, being willing and deſirous that the tract of land, called *Pennſylvania*, herein after mentioned, ſhould be granted and aſſured unto the ſaid *William Penn*, and his heirs, and for that purpoſe, having ſignified and declared his aſſent thereunto, to the right honourable, the lords of the committee of plantations, his ſaid Majeſty, by his letters patent, under the great ſeal of *England*, bearing date the 4th. day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of his reign, for the conſideration therein mentioned, did grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, and his heirs, all that tract, or part of land in *America*, with the iſlands therein contained, and thereunto belonging, as the ſame is bounded and deſcribed in and by the ſaid letters patent, and therein called *Penſilvania*, together with ſeveral royalties, franchiſes, juriſdictions and privileges, therein contained. And, whereas, in conſideration of five ſhillings,

Beſides, as an additional territory to the province, he alſo, this year, 1682, procured of the duke of *York*, his right, title and intereſt, in that tract of land, ſince called the *The three lower counties on Delaware*, extending from the ſouth boundary of the province, and ſituated on the weſtern ſide of the ſaid river and bay of *Delaware*, to cape *Hinlopen*, beyond, or ſouth of *Lewiſtown;* which, by the Duke were made over to *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, by two deeds of *Feoffment*, dated, Auguſt 24th. 1682. The firſt deed was for the town of *New-Caſtle*, alias *Delaware* town, and a diſtrict of twelve miles round it, as far as the river *Delaware;* in the ſecond, of the ſame date, was comprehended that tract of land, from twelve

1682.

William Penn procures of the Duke of York the territories, &c.

lings, and for the conſiderations herein after mentioned, his ſaid Royal Highneſs is willing and pleaſed to confirm and make any further aſſurance of the ſaid tract of land and premiſes unto the ſaid *William Penn*, and his heirs."

" Now, therefore, this indenture witneſſeth, that his ſaid Royal Highneſs, out of a ſpecial regard to the memory, and many faithful and eminent ſervices heretofore performed, by the ſaid Sir *William Penn*, to his ſaid Majeſty and Royal Highneſs, and for the better encouraging him, the ſaid *William Penn*, to proceed in the cultivating and improving the ſaid tract of ground, and iſlands therein, and thereunto belonging, and reducing the ſavage and barbarous natives thereof to civility, and for the good will, which his ſaid Royal Highneſs hath and beareth to the ſaid *William Penn*, and for other good cauſes and conſiderations, hath remiſed, releaſed, and for ever quit claim, and by theſe preſents, doth, for him and his heirs, remiſe, releaſe, and for ever quit claim, unto the ſaid *William Penn*, (in his peaceable poſſeſſion now being) his heirs and aſſigns, all the eſtate, right, title, intereſt, rents, ſervices, duties, payments, property, claim and demand whatſoever, of his ſaid Royal Highneſs, of, in, or to, or out of the ſaid tract of land, and all ſingular other, the lands, iſlands, tenements, hereditaments, and other things compriſed in the ſaid recited letters patent, and within the bounds and limits therein mentioned, to have and to hold the ſaid tract of land, rents, ſervices, hereditaments and premiſes, unto the ſaid *William Penn*, and his heirs, to the only uſe and benefit of the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns for ever. IN WITNESS whereof his Royal Highneſs hath to theſe preſents ſet his hand and ſeal, the day and year firſt above written."

" JAMES." (L. S.)

Sealed and delivered in the preſence of

JOHN WERDEN.
GEORGE MAN.

1682. twelve miles south of *New-Castle* to the *Hoarkills*, otherwise called *Cape-Hinlopen*, divided into two counties, *Kent* and *Sussex;* which, with *New-Castle* district, were commonly called, *the territories of Pennsylvania;* or *the three lower counties upon Delaware.**

Of the three lower counties, &c.

Of the boundary between the territories and Maryland, &c.

The determining and fixing the precise boundary between this territory and *Maryland*, as well as that between the respective provinces, becoming afterwards a subject of dispute between *William Penn* and the Lord *Baltimore*, will hereafter more fully appear, in the course of this history. For, though

* See the votes of the house of Representatives of Pennsylvania, Vol. 1.

William Penn, in a letter to some of his friends, in *Pennsylvania*, dated, "*England*, 10*th. Fourth month* 1691," (a time when there was some disagreement in these counties, respecting his title) says,—"*I would also you should know, I have a patent of the lower counties, some years since; that when there is occasion for it, you may alledge so, but not otherwise.*"

These territories were a part of the country, called New Netherland, when in possession of the Dutch, and included in the Duke of York's second patent for that country, after its surrender by treaty of peace to the English, in 1674, which extended westward of Delaware river. See Introduction, page 121 to 136; likewise William Penn's answer to Lord Baltimore's demand, further on in this history, &c.

In the preamble to the *act of union* of the three lower counties with the province, passed at Chester, in Pennsylvania, on the 6th. of the Tenth month 1682, it is thus expressed, *viz.*

—"And it having also favourably pleased *James*, Duke of *York*, Earl of *Ulster*, &c. to release his right and claim to all and every part thereof (of the province) unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns; whereby the said *William Penn* is become the undoubted and rightful Proprietary of the province of *Pennsylvania;* and is hereby freely and fully so recognised and acknowledged. And as a beneficial and requisite addition to the territory of the said Proprietary and Governor, it hath also pleased the said *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, Earl of *Ulster*, &c. for divers good considerations, to grant unto the said *William Penn*, and his heirs and assigns, all that tract of land, from twelve miles northward of *New-Castle*, on the river *Delaware*, down to the south cape, commonly called *Cape Hinlopen*, and by the Proprietary and Governor, now called *Cape James*, lying on the west side of said river and bay, and formerly possessed by the *Dutch*, and bought by them of the natives, and first surrendered upon articles of peace to the King's Lieutenant Governor, *Colonel Nicolls*, and a second time, to Sir *Edmund Andrews*, Lieutenant Governor to the said Duke; and hath been by him quietly possessed and enjoyed; as also the said river of *Delaware* and soil thereof, and all islands therein, lately cast into three counties, called, *New-Castle*, *Jones's* and *Whorekills*, alias, *Deal*, together with all royalties, powers and jurisdictions thereunto belonging; as by the two deeds of *Feoffment*, bearing date the 24th. of the Sixth month, called August, 1682, doth more at large appear."

Pennsylvania votes of Assembly, &c. Vol. 1.

though prior to making out the grant of both the province and territory, the Lord *Baltimore* was duly informed, fully heard, and all his objections anſwered, on the ſubject, before the lords of trade and plantations; where the preciſe ſouthern boundary of *Pennſylvania*, as expreſſed in the charter, muſt neceſſarily have been mentioned to him, as appears by the minutes of the committee of the ſaid board; yet he afterwards claimed not only the whole territory of the *lower counties*, but alſo one degree of north latitude included in the grant of *Pennſylvania*, as coming within his patent. 1682.

The boundary and extent of the former was determined by an order of council, the King being preſent, in November, 1685; but it was long before it was put in execution, ſaid to be occaſioned principally by the delays and obſtructions of the Lord Baltimore. But the line, or boundary between the two provinces doth not appear to have been preciſely and finally fixed during the life of *William Penn;* or, till the year 1732; which will be mentioned in its proper place.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

William Penn ſails for Pennſylvania.—Writes a valedictory epiſtle to his friends in England.—Arrives in the Delaware.—His reception in the country.—Holds an Aſſembly at Upland, (Cheſter.)—Paſſes an act of union between the province and territory.—Naturalizes the foreigners.—Paſſes the laws agreed on in England, in form.—Preamble to ſaid laws, with their titles.—He viſits New York and Maryland; and treats with the Lord Baltimore, reſpecting the boundaries.—Extracts from two of his letters, reſpecting his employment in the country, and in vindication of himſelf from ſome undue reflections.—The Proprietor purchaſes lands of the Indians, and treats them with great juſtice and kindneſs.—The happy conſequences, with inſtances of their affectionate remembrance of William Penn.

1682. WILLIAM PENN had, for a conſiderable time paſt, been making preparation for his voyage to *America;* which being, at laſt, accompliſhed, in the Sixth month (Auguſt) this year, 1682, accompanied by a number of his *friends*, he went on board the ſhip, *Welcome*, of 300 tons burden, *Robert Greenaway*, commander; and on the 30th. of the ſame month, he writ, from the *Downs*, a valedictory epiſtle to *England*, containing "*A ſalutation to all faithful friends.*"*

William Penn takes ſhipping for America.

The

* This epiſtle is extant in print, though it doth not appear in the collection of *William Penn's* works, publiſhed in two folio volumes. The whole title of it, at length, is, "An epiſtle, containing a *ſalutation* to all

The number of paſſengers, in this ſhip, was about one hundred, moſtly *Quakers;* the major part of them from *Suſſex*, the Proprietary's place of reſidence. In their paſſage, many of them were taken ſick of the *ſmall pox;* and about thirty of their number died. In this trying ſituation, the acceptable company of *William Penn* is ſaid to have been of ſingular advantage to them, and his kind advice and aſſiſtance of great ſervice, during their paſſage; ſo that, in the main, they had a proſperous voyage; and, in little more than ſix weeks, came in ſight of the *American* coaſt, ſuppoſed to be about *Egg-Harbour*, in *New-Jerſey*. 1682.

Many of the paſſengers die of the ſmall pox, &c.

In paſſing up the *Delaware*, the inhabitants, conſiſting of *Engliſh*, *Dutch* and *Swedes*, indiſcriminately met the Proprietary, with demonſtrations of joy. He landed at *New-Caſtle*, on the 24th. of October; and next day had the people ſummoned to the Court-houſe; where, after poſſeſſion of the country was legally given him, he made a ſpeech to the old Magiſtrates, and the people, ſignifying to them the deſign of his coming, the nature and end of government, and of that more particularly, which he came to eſtabliſh; aſſuring them of their ſpiritual and temporal rights; liberty of conſcience, and civil freedoms; and, recommending them to live in ſobriety and peace, he renewed the magiſtrates commiſſions.*

William Penn arrives at New-caſtle October 24th. 1682.

After

all *faithful friends;* a reproof to the *unfaithful;* and a viſitation to the *enquiring*, in a ſolemn *farewell* to them all, in the land of my nativity."—It conſiſts principally of religious advice and admonition to his *friends*, the *Quakers*, according to the different parts of the title.

Beſides this epiſtle, and prior to his going on board, he alſo writ an affectionate letter of advice to his wife and children, dated, *Wormingburſt* 4th. Sixth month, 1682.—It contains moſt excellent and pathetic directions to them, in their diſtinct capacities, for their civil, moral and religious conduct and government through life, in caſe he ſhould never ſee them again.—It is publiſhed in the edition of his ſelect works, in one folio volume.

* To form ſome idea of the proportion of the different ſorts of people, on the weſt ſide of *Delaware*, about this time, or prior to *William Penn's* arrival, on the lands, granted him, it may be noted, that the *Dutch* then had

1682. After this he proceeded to *Upland*, now called *Cheſter;* where, on the fourth day of the Tenth month, (about three months after his ſailing from *England*) he called an Aſſembly. It conſiſted of equal numbers of members for the province, and the three lower counties, called the *Territories*; that is, for both of them, ſo many of the freemen as thought proper to appear, according to the 16th. article of the frame of government.

He calls and meets the firſt Aſſembly, at Cheſter, &c.

This Aſſembly choſe *Nicholas Moore*, who was preſident of the *Free ſociety of traders*, for their chair-man, or *ſpeaker;* and received as ample ſatisfaction from the Proprietary, as the inhabitants of *New-caſtle* had done; for which they returned him their grateful acknowledgments: The *Swedes* for themſelves, deputed *Lacy Cock* to acquaint him, "*That they would love, ſerve and obey him with all they had;*" declaring, "*that it was the beſt day they ever ſaw.*"

Proceedings of the firſt Aſſembly.

At this Aſſembly an *act of union* was paſſed, annexing the *three lower counties* to the province, in legiſlation, on the 7th. day of December, 1682; likewiſe an *act of ſettlement*, in reference to the *frame of government* which, with ſome alterations, was thereby declared to be accepted and confirmed.

The *Dutch*, *Swedes*, and other *foreigners* were then naturalized: all the laws, agreed on in *England*, with ſome ſmall alterations, were paſſed in form.*

The

a meeting place, for religious worſhip, at *New-caſtle;* the *Swedes*, three; one at *Chriſteen*, one at *Tenecum*, and one at *Wicocoa*, (now in the ſuburbs of *Philadelphia*.) The *Quakers*, as before obſerved, in the introduction, had three, *viz.* one at *Upland*, or *Cheſter*, one at *Shackamaxon*, or about where *Kenſington* now ſtands, in the vicinity of *Philadelphia*, and one near the lower falls of *Delaware*.

* The preamble to theſe laws, with the titles, or heads, of them, here follow:

"The great law: or, the body of laws of the province of *Pennſylvania* and *territories* thereunto belonging, paſſed at an Aſſembly, held at *Cheſter*, alias, *Upland*, the ſeventh day of the Tenth month, called December, 1682.

"Whereas

The meeting continued only three days; and notwithſtanding the great variety of diſpoſitions, rawneſs and inexperience of this Aſſembly, in affairs of this kind, yet a very remarkable candour and harmony prevailed among them. 1682.

The

« Whereas, the glory of God Almighty, and the good of mankind, is the reaſon and end of government; and, therefore government itſelf is a venerable ordinance of God; and for as much as it is principally deſired and intended by the Proprietary and Governor, and freemen, of the province of *Pennſylvania*, and *territories* thereunto belonging, to make and eſtabliſh ſuch laws, as ſhall beſt preſerve true chriſtian and civil liberty, in oppoſition to all unchriſtian, licentious and unjuſt practices, whereby *God* may have his due, *Cæſar*, his due, and the people, their due, from tyranny and oppreſſion, on the one ſide, and inſolence and licentiouſneſs, on the other; ſo that the beſt and firmeſt foundation may be laid, for the preſent and future happineſs of both the Governor, and the people of this province and territories aforeſaid, and their poſterity: *Be it enacted by William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor, by and with the advice and conſent of the deputies of the freemen of this province, and the counties aforeſaid, in General Aſſembly met, and by the authority of the ſame, that theſe following chapters and paragraphs be the laws of *Pennſylvania* and *territories* thereof:—

1 Concerning liberty of conſcience.
2 Concerning qualifications of officers, &c.
3 Againſt ſwearing by God, Chriſt, or Jeſus.
4 Againſt ſwearing by any other thing or name.
5 Againſt ſpeaking profanely of God, Chriſt, Spirit or Scripture.
6 Againſt curſing.
7 Againſt defiling the marriage bed.
8 Againſt inceſt.
9 Againſt ſodomy and beſtiality.
10 Againſt rape, or raviſhment.
11 Againſt bigamy.
12 Againſt drunkenneſs.
13 Againſt ſuffering drunkenneſs.
14 Againſt healths drinking.
15 Againſt ſelling, or exchanging, of rum, brandy, or other ſtrong liquors to the Indians.
16 Againſt wilful firing of houſes.
17 Againſt breaking into, or taking any thing out of houſes.
18 Lands and goods of thieves and felons, &c. liable, &c.
19 Againſt forceable entry.
20 Againſt unlawful aſſemblies and riots.
21 Againſt aſſaulting or menacing of parents.
22 Againſt aſſaulting or menacing, of magiſtrates.
23 Againſt aſſaulting or menacing, of maſters.
24 Againſt aſſault and battery.
25 Againſt duels.
26 Againſt riotous ſports and practices, as plays, &c.
27 Againſt playing at cards, dice, lotteries, &c.
28 Againſt ſedition.
29 Againſt ſpeaking ſlightly, or abuſing of magiſtrates or officers.
30 Againſt reporters, defamers, and ſpreaders of falſe news.

31 Againſt

1681. The proprietary, prior to his meeting this Aſſembly, appears to have paid a viſit to *New-York;* and immediately after the adjournment of it, he went to *Maryland;* where he was kindly received by the Lord *Baltimore*, and the principal perſons of that colony. There the two proprietaries held a conference reſpecting the fixing and ſettling the boundaries between the two provinces: but the ſeverity of the ſeaſon coming on, and there being no appearance of ſpeedily determining the affair, after two days ſpent on the occaſion, they appointed to meet again in the ſpring, and *William Penn* took his leave and departed, the Lord *Baltimore* accompanying him ſeveral miles, to the houſe of one

William Penn viſits New York, Maryland, &c.

William Penn treats with Lord Baltimore about the boundary, &c.

31 Againſt clamorous perſons, ſcolders and railers.
32 Proviſion for the poor.
33 Prices of beer and ale.
34 Meaſures and weights.
35 Names of days and months.
36 Witneſſes lying.
37 Pleadings, proceſſes and records, to be in *Engliſh*.
38 Trials in civil and criminal caſes.
39 Fees and ſalaries, bribery and extortion.
40 Fines to be moderate, &c.
41 Numerous ſuits avoidable.
42 Arreſt of a perſon departing the province, how.
43 Promiſes, bargains and agreements.
44 Charters, gifts, grants, conveyances, bills, bonds and ſpecialties, deeds, &c. how ſoon to be recorded.
45 What wills ſhall convey lands, as well as chattels. See appendix to the Pennſylvania laws.
46 Wills of *non compos mentis* void.
47 Regiſtry for wills, &c.
48 Regiſtry for ſervants, &c.
49 Factors, and their employ.
50 Againſt defacers, corrupters and embezzlers, of charters, conveyances and records, &c.
51 How lands and goods ſhall pay debts. See appendix to the Pennſylvania laws.
52 What priſoners bailable.
53 Jails and Jailers.
54 Priſons to be work-houſes.
55 Wrongful impriſonment.
56 Where the penalty is either a ſum of money or impriſonment, the magiſtrate ſhall inflict which he will.
57 Freemen, who.
58 Elections.
59 No money or goods, by way of tax, cuſtom or contribution, to be raiſed or paid, but by law.
60 Laws ſhall be printed and taught in ſchools.
61 All other things, not provided for herein, are referred to the Governor and freemen from time to time.

one *William Richardſon;* from whence he proceeded two miles further, to a religious meeting of his friends, the *Quakers*, at the houſe of *Thomas Hooker;* and from thence to *Choptank*, on the eaſtern ſide of *Cheſapeak-bay;* where was an appointed meeting of perſons of divers ranks and qualities. 1682.

He has various enemies, &c.

Thus proceeded *William Penn*, with much fatigue, difficulty and expenſe, to ſettle the province, eſtabliſh the government, and cultivate a good underſtanding with his neighbours; though not without enemies and oppoſitions of different kinds, as will hereafter more fully appear; and that, even, from ſome, who had been his friends; as may be ſeen by the following extract from the printed account of his life, about this time, *viz.*—

Extract from his life, printed with his works.

"Nor was the advancement of himſelf, or family, in worldly wealth and grandeur, his aim, in the adminiſtration

Note, By a letter of *William Penn*, dated, *Cheſter* on *Delaware*, 29th. of the 10th month, 1682, his activity, about this time, further appears:—From which the following is an extract:

"I bleſs the Lord, I am very well, and much ſatisfied with my place and portion; yet buſy enough; having much to do, to pleaſe all; and yet to have an eye to thoſe, that are not here to pleaſe themſelves.

"I have been alſo at *New York*, *Long Iſland*, *Eaſt Jerſey and Maryland;* in which I have had good and eminent ſervice for the Lord, &c.

"I am now caſting the country into townſhips, for large lots of land. I have held an aſſembly; in which many good laws are paſſed; we could not ſafely ſtay till the ſpring for a government. I have annexed the *Lower Counties* (lately obtained) to the province; and paſſed a general naturalization for ſtrangers; which hath much pleaſed the people.—As to outward things, we are ſatisfied; the land good, the air clear and ſweet, the ſprings plentiful, and proviſion good, and eaſy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fiſh; in fine, here is what an *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob* would be well contented with; and ſervice enough for God; for the fields are here white for harveſt. O, how ſweet is the quiet of theſe parts, freed from the anxious and troubleſome ſollicitations, hurries and perplexities of *woeful Europe;* and God will thin her; the day haſtens upon her." &c.

"Bleſſed be the Lord, that of twenty-three ſhips none miſcarried; only two or three had the *ſmall-pox;* elſe healthy and ſwift paſſages, generally ſuch as have not been known; ſome but twenty-eight days, and few longer than ſix weeks: Bleſſed be God for it; who is good to us, and follows us with his abundant kindneſs: my ſoul fervently breathes, that in his heavenly guiding wiſdom, we may be kept; that we may ſerve him in our day, and lay down our heads in peace," &c.

"P. S. Many women, in divers of the ſhips, brought to bed; they and their children do well."

1682. adminiſtration of government; but, in the greateſt honor of his public ſtation, he ſtill retained the meekneſs and humility of a private Chriſtian; the ſincerity of his intentions, and with what zeal and ardour he purſued a general good, are beſt expreſſed by his own words, in a letter written in *Pennſylvania*, the latter part of this year, (1682) to a perſon, who had unduly reflected on him," *viz.*

Part of a letter of William Penn from Cheſter in Pennſylvania.

—" I could ſpeak largely of God's dealings with me, in getting this thing; what an inward exerciſe of faith and patience it coſt me, in paſſing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and coſt;—through the envy of many, both profeſſors, falſe friends, and profane: my God hath given it me, in the face of the world; and and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my ſufferings: and that is ſeen here, whatever ſome deſpiſers may ſay or think. The place God hath given me; and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a worldly title, or patent, that hath cloathed me in this place.—

" Keep thy place; I am in mine; I have ſerved the God of the whole earth, ſince I have been in it; nor am I ſitting down in a greatneſs, that I have denied.—I am day and night ſpending my life, my time, my money, and am not ſix pence enriched by this greatneſs: coſts in getting, ſettling, tranſportation and maintenance, now in a public manner, at my own charge, duly conſidered, to ſay nothing of my hazzard, and the diſtance I am from a conſiderable eſtate, and, which is more, my *dear wife and poor children.*"

" Well,—the Lord is God of righteous judgment: had I ſought greatneſs, I had ſtayed at home; where the difference between what I am here, and was offered, and could have been there, in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are:—No, I came for the *Lord's ſake*, and therefore

fore have I ſtood to this day, well and diligent, and ſucceſsful, *bleſſed be his power.*—"Nor ſhall I trouble myſelf to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, ſpendings, and my ſervants every way freely, not like a ſelfiſh man; I have many witneſſes.—"To conclude, it is now in friends hands; through my travail, faith and patience it came."—"*If friends here keep to God, in the juſtice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their foot-ſtool: if not their heirs and my heirs too, will loſe all; and deſolation will follow:*—but bleſſed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowſhip of his tender heavenly ſpirit; and our faith is for ourſelves and one another, that the Lord will be with us, a *King* and *Counſellor* for ever." 1682.

"Thy ancient, though grieved, friend,

WILLIAM PENN."

"*Cheſter, 5th. of the Twelfth month,* 1682."

The Proprietary returns to Pennſylvania, and begins to purchaſe lands of the Indians, &c.

The Proprietary, being now returned from *Maryland* to *Coaquannock*, the place ſo called by the *Indians*, where *Philadelphia* now ſtands, began to purchaſe lands of the *Natives;* whom he treated with great juſtice and ſincere kindneſs, in all his dealings and communications with them; ever giving them full ſatisfaction for all their lands &c. and the beſt advice for their real happineſs; of which their future conduct ſhewed they were very ſenſible; and the country afterwards reaped the benefit of it.*

It

* Hence one of the early ſettlers, Thomas Makin, of Philadelphia, after having lived in the country more than forty years, in a copy of Latin verſes, entitled, *Deſcriptio Pennſylvaniæ*, dated in 1729, and inſcribed to *James Logan*, has the following lines.

"Non regio hæc Indos armis ſubigendo tenetur,
Sed certa emptori conditione data eſt.
Vivitur hic igitur tuto ſine militis uſu;
Et ſibi ſecurus propria quisque tenet.
Hic locus eſt multis felix, ubi ſedibus aptis,

Sors

1682. It was at this time, (1682) when he firſt entered perſonally into that laſting friendſhip with the *Indians*, which ever afterwards continued between them; and for the ſpace of more than ſeventy years was never interrupted; or, ſo long as the *Quakers*, to whom, even, long after his death, they always continued to ſhew the greateſt regard, retained power, in the government, ſufficient to influence a friendly and juſt conduct towards them, and to prevent, or redreſs, ſuch miſunderſtandings and grievances, as occaſionally happened between them, and any of the inhabitants of the province, &c. A firm peace was, therefore, now reciprocally concluded between *William Penn* and the *Indians;* and both parties mutually promiſed to live together as brethren, without doing the leaſt injury to each other. This was ſolemnly ratified by the uſual token of a *chain of friendſhip* and covenant indelible, never to be broken, ſo long as the ſun and moon endure.

W. Penn firſt perſonally enters into friendſhip with the Indians, &c.

Of this kind of conferrence he afterwards had many others, and ſome on a religious account, during both times of his reſidence in the country. His conduct, in general, to theſe people, was ſo engaging, his juſtice, in particular, ſo conſpicuous, and the counſel and advice, which he gave them, were ſo evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the ſenſe thereof made ſuch deep impreſſions on their underſtandings, that his name and memory will

Their reat regard for W. Penn, &c.

Sors optata dedit non ſine pace frui.
Dira ſed infelix, heu! bella *Nov' Anglia* ſenſit;
Indis quæ ſemper gens male—fida fuit."

On juſt and faireſt terms the land is gain'd;
No force of arms has any right obtain'd.
'Tis here, without the uſe of arms, alone,
The bleſt inhabitant enjoys his own:
Here many, to their wiſh, in peace enjoy
Their happy lots; and nothing doth annoy.
But ſad *New England's* different conduct ſhow'd
What dire effects from injur'd *Indians* flow'd.

will ſcarcely ever be effaced, while they continue a people.*

* At a treaty, held with the *Six Nations*, at *Philadelphia*, in July, 1742, in Governor *Thomas's* adminiſtration, *Canaſſatego*, chief of the *Onondagoes*, ſaid,

——"We are all very ſenſible of the kind regard, which that *good man*, *William Penn*, had for all the *Indians*," &c.

At this treaty, theſe *Indians* thus expreſſed themſelves, reſpecting *James Logan*, which further ſhews the ſenſe and gratitude of that people when they are well treated, &c.

"*Canaſſatego* then ſpoke to the Governor and council:"

"*Brethren*,

"We called at our old friend *James Logan's*, in our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him *hid in the buſhes*, and retired through infirmities, from public buſineſs. We preſſed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to aſſiſt once more, on our account, at your councils. We hope, notwithſtanding his age, and the effects of a fit of ſickneſs, which we underſtand has hurt his conſtitution, that he may yet continue a long time, to aſſiſt this province with his counſels. He is a wiſe man, and a faſt friend to the *Indians*. And we deſire, when his ſoul goes to *God*, you may chuſe in his room, juſt ſuch another perſon, of the ſame prudence and ability, in counſelling; and of the ſame tender diſpoſition and affection for the *Indians*."—"In teſtimony of our gratitude for all his ſervices, and becauſe he was ſo good, as to leave his country houſe, and follow us to town, and be at the trouble, in this his advanced age, to attend the council, *We preſent him with this bundle of Skins*.

After the Governor had concluded, *James Logan* replied to that part of *Canaſſatego's* ſpeech which related to him, and ſaid—

"That, not only upon the account of his lameneſs, (of which the *Indians* themſelves were witneſſes) but on account of another indiſpoſition, which, about three years ſince, had laid him under an incapacity of expreſſing himſelf with his former uſual freedom, he had been obliged to live retired, in the country."

"But that our firſt proprietor, the honorable *William Penn*, who had ever been a father, and true friend to all the *Indians*, having above forty years ſince recommended them to his particular care, he had always, from his own inclination, as well as from that ſtrict charge, endeavoured to convince all the *Indians*, that he was their true friend; and was now well pleaſed, that after a tract of ſo many years, they were not inſenſible of it. He thanked them kindly for their preſent and heartily joined with them in their deſires, that the government may always be furniſhed with perſons of equally good inclinations, and not only with ſuch, but alſo with better abilities, to ſerve them.

At a council, held with the *Seneca* and other *Indians*, in *Philadelphia*, in July 1749, in the adminiſtation of *James Hamilton*, &c.

Ogauſhtaſh, in part of his ſpeech, thus expreſſes himſelf:

"We recommend it to the Governor, to tread in the ſteps of thoſe *wiſe people*, who have held the reins of government before him, in being good and kind to the *Indians*. Do, brother, make it your ſtudy to conſult the intereſt of our nations; as you have ſo large an authority, you can do us much good, or harm; we would, therefore, engage your influence

1682. That they retain theſe things, and hand them, by tradition, from father to ſon, many inſtances have ſince more particularly ſhewn; of which one was in 1721, ſeveral years after the death of *William Penn;* in a conferrence between Governor *Keith* and the *Five Nations*, held at *Coneſtogo*, in *Pennſylvania*. Their Chief Speaker, with a countenance, which ſhewed great reſpect, ſaid—

Inſtances of the Indians long retaining great reſpect for *W. Penn.*

"*They ſhould never forget the council, that William Penn gave them; and that though they could not write, as the Engliſh did, yet they could keep, in the memory, what was ſaid in their councils.*

At the treaty renewed, in the year following, at *Albany*, they mentioned the name of *William Penn* with great affection, calling him, a *good man.*—And, as their higheſt compliment to Governor *Keith*, they uſed this expreſſion, "*we eſteem and love you as if you were William Penn himſelf:* telling him, "*Brother Onas,*" (which in their language ſignifies, a *Pen*, and by which name they call the Governors of *Pennſylvania* ever ſince it was firſt ſettled by *William Penn*) "we are glad to hear the former

influence and affections for us; that the ſame harmony, and mutual affections may ſubſiſt during your government, which ſo happily ſubſiſted in former times, nay, from the firſt ſettlement of this province, by our *good friend*, the *great William Penn*," &c.

At a treaty held at *Eaſton*, in *Pennſylvania*, with the *Indians*, in 1756, in Governor *Morris's* adminiſtration, *Teedyuſcung*, the *Delaware* chief, ſpoke as follows:

"Brother *Onas*, and the people of *Pennſylvania*,

"We rejoice to hear from you, that you are willing to renew the *old good underſtanding*, and that you call to mind *the firſt treaties* of friendſhip, made by *Onas*, our *great friend*, deceaſed, with our forefathers, when himſelf and his people firſt came over here.

"We take hold of theſe treaties with both our hands; and deſire you will do the ſame; that a good underſtanding and true friendſhip may be re-eſtabliſhed. Let us both take hold of theſe treaties with all our ſtrength we beſeech you; We on our ſide, will certainly do it."

——Again, on concluding a peace, in July, the ſame year, *Teedyuſcung* ſaid,—

"I wiſh the ſame good ſpirit, that poſſeſſed the *good old man*, *William Penn*, who was a friend to the *Indians*, may *inſpire* the people of this province, at this time," &c.

Extracts from the Indian *treaties.*

former treaties, which we have made with *William Penn*, repeated to us again."——

Upon the Governor's replying, "That he deſired this viſit, and the covenant *chain*, which is hereby brightened, may be recorded in everlaſting remembrance, to be ſent down to your and our children, to laſt as long as the mountains and rivers, and while the ſun and moon endure:"—They anſwered,—"We deſire that peace and tranquillity, which is now eſtabliſhed between us, may be as clear as the ſun, ſhining in its luſtre, without any cloud or darkneſs; and that the ſame may continue forever."——

Theſe inſtances, among many others, that may be given, together with the conſequent correſponding behaviour of theſe people, may ſhew what a grateful remembrance they retained of *William Penn's* fair and candid conduct towards them; and what an happy influence a juſt and friendly treatment has on, even, ſavage minds.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Arrivals of coloniſts in the firſt year, and early times, with their general character.—Some of their ſettlements, and rapid improvements, with the names and memorials of divers of them, &c.—Difficulties and hardſhips of the firſt and early ſettlers; but they proſper.—Part of the planter's ſpeech to his neighbours and countrymen.—Richard Townſend's teſtimony, reſpecting the proſperity of Pennſylvania from the firſt ſettlement of it, for above forty years.

Number of arrivals in the firſt year, &c.

WITHIN the ſpace of the firſt year, after the proper requiſites for a regular ſettlement were obtained, between twenty and thirty ſail of ſhips, with paſſengers, arrived in the province, including thoſe which came before, and about the ſame time with the Proprietary. The ſettlers amounted to ſuch a large number, that the parts near *Delaware* were peopled in a very rapid manner, even from about the falls of *Trenton*, down to *Cheſter*, near fifty miles, on the river; beſides the ſettlements in the *lower counties*, which, at the ſame time, were very conſiderable: for the firſt ſettlements, for the moſt part, were made nigh the river, according to the different ſhares of land, which were reſpectively allotted for each ſettler; as may be ſeen in an old map of the firſt ſettled parts of the province.*

Of the firſt and early coloniſts of Pennſylvania.

As the firſt coloniſts, and thoſe who followed, for a number of years afterwards, were more generally of the religious people called *Quakers*; and

* This is ſaid to have been the firſt, or original map of the ſettled part of the province and of the plan of the city; by Thomas Holme.—It was dedicated to William Penn, and ſold by Robert Green and John Thornton in London;—who ſay, in the ſaid map, that it was begun by the Proprietary, anno 1681;—It is yet extant, &c.

and in their native country had ſuffered much on account of their religion, both in perſon and property, through the perſecuting bigotry of thoſe times; ſo, on their arrival, their great and primary concern is ſaid to have been the continuance and ſupport of their religious public worſhip, in every part of the country, where they made ſettlements, in ſuch manner as their ſituation and circumſtances then permitted; and though the generality of them were not ranked among the rich and great, yet many had valuable eſtates, were of good families and education; and moſtly ſober, induſtrious and ſubſtantial people, of low, or moderate fortunes, but of univerſal good reputation and character.* 1682.

Of the firſt and early Coloniſts of Pennſylvania.

They appear, in general, to have been provident, and cautious, in their removal; ſo that raſhneſs and inconſideration, ſo common in new attempts

* In the records of this people, in early times, among other things, I find the following anecdotes, reſpecting the original and regular eſtabliſhment of ſome of their firſt *religious meetings* in theſe parts, with the names of ſome of the principal ſettlers among them, of that ſociety, *viz.*

The firſt moſt conſiderable *Engliſh ſettlement*, in *Pennſylvania* proper, is ſaid to have been near the lower *falls* of the river *Delaware*, in *Bucks* county; where the *Quakers* had a regular and eſtabliſhed meeting, for religious worſhip, before the country bore the name of *Pennſylvania*: ſome of the inhabitants there having ſettled by virtue of patents, from Sir *Edmund Andros*, Governor of *New-York*.

Among the names of the inhabitants here, either at this time, or ſoon after, appear to be, *William Yardly*, *James Harriſon*, *Phineas Pemberton*, *William Biles*, *William Dark*, *Lyonell Britain*, *William Beaks*, &c. And ſoon afterwards there, and near *Neſhaminy* creek, *Richard Hough*, *Henry Baker*, *Nicholas Waine*, *John Otter*, *Robert Hall*;—And, in Wright's town, *John Chapman*, and *James Ratcliff*, a noted preacher in the ſociety, &c.

In the year 1683, ſettled near the ſaid *falls*, *Thomas Janny* who, with his family, and others, at that time, arrived from *Cheſhire*, in England. He is ſaid to have been a very ſerviceable perſon in the country, and among his neighbours, in divers reſpects.

After twelve years reſidence here, he reviſited his native country, on a religious account, being a preacher among the *Quakers*, where he died, aged 63, and a preacher, in that ſociety, 41 years; being a man of good reputation, character and example.

Near *Byberry*, *Poetqueſſing*, &c. ſettled *Richard Waln*, John Hart, Richard Worrall, &c.

1682. tempts of this kind, was not for the moſt part, much obſervable among them, in this important undertaking. Many of them brought ſervants, and

Note, The *Quakers* had meetings for religious worſhip, and for the œconomy of their ſociety ſo early as the ſore part of the year 1681, at the houſe of *Thomas Fairlamb*, at *Shakamaxon*, near, or about the place where *Kenſington* now ſtands, nigh *Philadelphia;* and in the next following year, 1682, at the place itſelf, where the city is ſince built, in a boarded meeting-houſe erected there for that purpoſe.

Their brick meeting-houſe, in the city, at or near the center, was built in - - - - - - - - - - 1684.
That, on the bank, in Front-ſtreet, in - - - - - 1685.
Their great meeting-houſe, in High-ſtreet, in - - - 1695.
That, on the hill, in Pine-ſtreet, in - - - - - 1753.
And the preſent meeting-houſe, in High-ſtreet, in - - 1755.

The number of marriages of the people called *Quakers*, in *Philadelphia* alone, during the firſt thirty-two years of the province, or between the years 1682 and 1714, inclufive, was about 314. M. S.

In the year 1682, they had a religious meeting regularly fixed at Darby. Among the firſt and early ſettlers of the ſociety, at or near this place, are mentioned, John Blunſton, Michael Blunſton, George Wood, Joſhua Fearn, Henry Gibbons, Samuel Sellers, Richard Bonſall, Edmund Cartlidge, Thomas Hood, John Bartram, Robert Naylor and Adam Rhoads;—who all came from *Darbyſhire*, in *England*.

Thomas Worth, Samuel Bradſhaw, John Hallowell, William Wood, Thomas Bradſhaw, Robert Scothorn and Richard Parker, all from *Nottinghamſhire*.

John Hood, William Garret, Robert Cliffe, William Smith, John Smith and Thomas Smith, from *Leiceſterſhire*.

At *Cheſter*, the *Quakers* had meetings for divine worſhip regularly, from the year 1675; in which year *Robert Wade*, and divers others came over; and at whoſe houſe the firſt meeting of record, in this place, was held, on the tenth of the eleventh month, 1681.

Among the eminent perſons of this ſociety, who ſettled in and near this place, in theſe early times, were, Thomas Vernon, John Bowater, Thomas Minſhall, Bartholomew Coppock, John Edge, &c.—David Jones, at Goſhen.—John Gibbons, Thomas Stanfield, John Cadwallader, James Thomas;—William Woodmanſon, at Harold.—John Simcocke, at Ridley; Nicholas Newlin, &c.

In the year 1682, among the *Quakers*, who ſettled on the eaſt ſide of *Brandywine* creek, in *New-caſtle* county, were Valentine Hollingſworth, William Stockdale, Thomas Conoway, Adam Sharpley, Morgan Drewitt, Valentine Morgan, Cornelius Empſon.—And about *Center* townſhip, George Harlam, Thomas Hollingſworth, Alphonſus Kirk, William Gregg, &c.

Of thoſe who firſt ſettled in, and about *New-caſtle*, were John Huſſey, John Richardſon, Edward Blake, George Hogg, Benjamin Swett, &c.

Alſo William Brown, from Northamtonſhire in *England*, who ſettled in early time, about Nottingham, is noted among the *Quakers*, for his kind benevolence and hoſpitality; and as exhibiting a pattern of a truly Chriſtian life and practice;—He lived upwards of ninety years, had many deſcendants, and died in 1746.

and had provided themſelves with food and raiment, for ſuch a ſpace of time, after their arrival, as, it might be reaſonably ſuppoſed their care and induſtry would afterwards procure neceſſary ſubſiſtence in the province: beſides, ſufficient quantities of houſehold furniture, utenſils, implements and tools, for divers of the firſt moſt uſeful, and neceſſary trades and occupations were previouſly provided and brought by not a few of them. 1682.

The nature of both their religious and civil ſyſtem and conduct, in general, was ſo reaſonable, generous and inviting that as they became known, and the fame thereof ſpread abroad, great numbers of people were induced to flock to the province, from different parts of *Europe;* and, in ſuch a rapid manner, to colonize and improve it, as had ſcarcely ever been parallelled in any other country, at ſo great a diſtance from the parent ſtates, or civilized part of the world.

Number of arrivals, &c.

In this, and the two next ſucceeding years, arrived ſhips, with paſſengers or ſettlers, from *London*, *Briſtol*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Holland*, *Germany*, &c. to the number of about fifty ſail.*

First ſettlement of Germantown by ſome Quakers from Germany, &c.

Among thoſe from *Germany*, were ſome *Friends*, or *Quakers*, from *Kriſheim* or *Creſheim*, a town not far from *Worms*, in the *Palatinate*. They had been early convinced of the religious principles of the *Quakers*, by the preaching of *William Ames*, an *Engliſhman:* for which they had bore a public teſtimony there, till the preſent time; when they all removed

* Hence Thomas Makin before mentioned, ſays—

" Hujus fama loci multos aliunde vocavit
" Libertas quibus eſt dulcis amorque lucri
" Hue alienigenæ veniunt, venientque quotannis
" Omnibus uſque adeo libera terra placet."—&c.

Its fame to diſtant countries far has ſpread
And ſome for peace, and ſome for profit, led,
Born in remoteſt climes, to ſettle here,
They leave their native ſoil, and all that's dear;
And ſtill will flock from far, here to be free;
Such powerful charms has lovely Liberty.—&c.

1682. removed to *Pennſylvania*, and ſettled about ſix or ſeven miles diſtant from *Philadelphia*, at a place which they called *German-town*.

"This removal," (ſays *Sewell*, in his hiſtory of the *Quakers*) "did not ſeem to be without a ſingular direction of *Providence:* for not long after a war enſued in *Germany*, where the *Palatinate* was altogether laid waſte by the *French;* and thouſands of families were bereft of their poſſeſſions, and reduced to poverty."*

First arrival of the Welſh, &c.

Among thoſe adventurers and ſettlers, who arrived about this time, were alſo many from *Wales*, of thoſe who are called *Ancient Britons*, and moſtly *Quakers;* divers of whom were of the original or early ſtock of that ſociety there.† They had early purchaſed

* Among the firſt *Germantown* ſettlers from *Kriſheim*, was *Dennis Conrad*. The firſt religious meeting of the *Quakers*, in that place, was held at his houſe, in 1683. He was an hoſpitable well diſpoſed man, of an inoffenſive life, and good character. He died in the year 1729.

† Divers of theſe early *Welſh* ſettlers were perſons of excellent and worthy character; and ſeveral of good education, family and eſtate, chiefly *Quakers;* and many of them either eminent preachers in that ſociety, or otherwiſe well qualified and diſpoſed to do good, in various capacities, both in religious and civil, in public and private life.

Of ſome of them there are particular and extraordinary accounts in manuſcript, both reſpecting their eminent religious ſervices among the *Quakers*, &c. and alſo of their great uſefulneſs among their neighbours, in ſettling the province, and in regulating and managing the civil affairs of the government; as perſons highly and juſtly eſteemed and diſtinguiſhed both in private and public ſtation. Of theſe, beſides others, I find particularly mentioned,

John Thomas, *Robert Owen* and *Jane*, his wife, from *Mereonethſhire*; pious and honourable perſons, of good family, education and abilities; and had ſuffered much perſecution for their religion, being *Quakers;* but they died ſoon after their arrival.

There was alſo another *Robert Owen*, who removed from *Wales* into *Pennſylvania*, in 1690. He was, by account, an eminent preacher, and a very ſerviceable and worthy perſon, among the *Quakers;*—being a man endowed with many excellent qualities; a ſkilful peace-maker, and of much ſervice and utility, in various reſpects while he lived in the country. He died in the year 1697.

Rowland Ellis was a man of note among the *Welſh* ſettlers; from a place called *Brin-Maur*, near Dolgelly in the county of *Mereoneth*. In 1682, he ſent over *Thomas Owen* and his family to make a ſettlement. This was the cuſtom of divers others of the *Welſh*, at firſt, to ſend perſons over to take up land for them, and to prepare it, againſt their coming afterwards.

But

purchaſed of the Proprietary, in *England*, forty thouſand acres of land. 1682.

Thoſe who came, at preſent, took up ſo much of it, on the weſt ſide of *Sculkil* river, as made the three townſhips, of *Merion*, *Haverford* and *Radnor;* and in a few years afterwards, their number was ſo much augmented, as to ſettle the three other townſhips of *New-town*, *Goſhen* and *Uwchland*. After this they continued ſtill increaſing, and became a numerous and floriſhing people.

Notwithſtanding

But *Rowland Ellis*, chuſing to ſee the country, before he removed his family, ſailed in a Briſtol ſhip from *Milford Haven*, for *Pennſylvania*, on the ſixteenth of the eighth month, 1686; taking along with him his eldeſt ſon, *Rowland*, then a boy, and they had a very long and tedious paſſage, in which they touched at *Barbadoes*, not arriving at the province, till about twenty-four weeks after their firſt ſailing. The Welſh paſſengers were about one hundred, all from the ſame place with him. Many of them died through want of neceſſary proviſions; and others afterwards, from the remaining effects of their ſufferings; and ſome that ſurvived, never recovered their former ſtrength; though at *Barbadoes*, where they ſtayed about ſix weeks, and were kindly and friendly treated, many were much recruited from their languiſhing condition, and the death of divers others prevented, &c.

After having been about nine months in the province, and making the neceſſary preparations for the reception of his family, which he intended to bring over, he returned in the next ſpring, to his native land, leaving his young ſon with his uncle *John Humphrey*. But he did not return to *Pennſylvania*, till the year 1697; when he ſailed in a *Liverpool* veſſel, with many other families, conſiſting of about one hundred paſſengers, all from *North Wales;* and in about ſix weeks they arrived at *Philadelphia*, in the fourth month.

Rowland Ellis was then in the forty-fifth year of his age. He left his eldeſt daughter and heireſs, by a former wife, in poſſeſſion of his paternal inheritance, at which he had lived moſt of his time.

After this his laſt arrival in *Pennſylvania*, he is ſaid to have *lived long to do good*. His ſervices, both in church and ſtate, being conſiderable. He was a preacher among the *Quakers;* but his greateſt ſervice did not appear to be that way. He was an acceptable man in every ſtation. He died in the eightieth year of his age, at his ſon-in-law, John Evans's houſe, in *North Wales*, *Pennſylvania;*—of whom and his pious exit, their is a more particular account, in manuſcript.

Hugh Roberts was an eminent preacher, among the *Quakers;* a man of note, and good character, in *Pennſylvania;* to which he removed from *Wales*, about the year 1683; where he lived near eighteen years, to an advanced age.

He had ſuffered much for his religion, in his native country, prior to his removal to *America*. He is ſaid to have been of a tender and affectionate diſpoſition of mind, and a very valuable and worthy perſon. He was, for ſome years a member of the provincial council, &c.

——On

1682. Notwithſtanding the precaution, which many of theſe adventurers had uſed, in bringing proviſions and other neceſſaries with them, for a certain time, yet it cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed that the arrival of ſuch a large number of people, in a wilderneſs, within the ſpace of two or three years would not neceſſarily be attended with inconveniencies and difficulties. Though the *European* inhabitants, in the country, prior to their arrival, were kind and aſſiſting, yet they were very few, moſtly new or late ſettlers, and conſequently but meanly provided, either with proviſions, or other accommodations; inſomuch that ſometimes, for divers years afterwards, the ſcarcity, which was experienced among them, of the former, cauſed very alarming apprehenſions.*

Difficulties of the firſt ſettlers, &c.

Sometimes alarmed with the proſpect of want, &c.

Beſides

———On his return from a religious viſit to his native country, in the ſervice of preaching the goſpel, in the year 1698, a number of the Inhabitants of *North Wales* removed to *Pennſylvania*, in company with him; where he arrived on the 7th. of the Fifth month, many of the paſſengers having died at ſea of the *Bloody Flux*, during the paſſage.

In the latter end of this year, (1698) William Jones, Thomas Evans, Robert Evans, Owen Evans, Cadwallader Evans, Hugh Griffith, John Hugh, Edward Foulke, John Humphrey, Robert Jones, and others, having purchaſed of Robert Turner, ten thouſand acres of land, began in the following year, to improve and ſettle the ſame, and called the townſhip *Guinedd*, in Engliſh *North Wales*. Some of the laſt mentioned paſſengers ſettled here; who, in general, did not, at firſt, profeſs with the *Quakers;* but afterwards they, with many others, as the neighbourhood increaſed, joined in religious ſociety with them, and were an induſtrious and worthy people.———

Ellis Pugh, one of the early *Welſh* ſettlers, who arrived in the province in the year 1687, lived much of his time, and died, here, 1718. He was convinced of the *Quakers'* principles, in *Wales*, about the year 1674. He became a miniſter among them, in 1680. In which capacity he continued till his death, being a very ſerviceable perſon, in divers reſpects, and of an excellent character.

* Among other particular accounts, of this kind, I find the following; which may give a further idea of thoſe early times in the province, &c.

John Scarborough, of *London*, coach-ſmith, arrived in the country, in 1682, with his ſon *John*, then a youth, and ſettled in *Middletown*, in *Bucks* county, among the firſt, in thoſe parts; where he remained about two years; and then embarked for his native country, with intention to bring over his wife and family;—having ſuffered much, by perſecution, for his religion, in *England*, being a *Quaker*.

During his reſidence in *Pennſylvania*, proviſions being ſometimes ſcarce,

Beſides, theſe adventurers were not all young perſons, and able to endure the difficulties and hardſhips which are moſtly unavoidable in ſubduing a wilderneſs, or as equally regardleſs of convenient accommodations as young healthy and ſtrong men, accoſtomed to labor and diſappointment: but there were among them perſons advanced in years, with women and children; and ſuch as, in their native country, had lived well, and enjoyed eaſe and plenty. 1682.

Some of them advanced in years, &c.

ſcarce, in that part, where he reſided, eſpecially in the firſt year, he is ſaid to have had occaſion to remark the providence of God to him, and thoſe near him, when they were under greater difficulty, on this account, than at other times.

The *wild pidgeons* came in ſuch great numbers, that the air was ſometimes darkened by their flight; and, flying low, they were frequently knocked down, as they flew; in great quantities, by thoſe who had no other means to take them: whereby they ſupplied themſelves; and having ſalted thoſe, which they could not immediately uſe, they preſerved them, both for bread and meat.

Thus they were ſupplied ſeveral times, during the firſt two or three years, till they had raiſed, by their induſtry, food ſufficient out of the ground:—for the tilling of which, at that time, they uſed *Hoes*, having neither horſes nor plows.—The *Indians* were remarkably kind, and very aſſiſtant to them, in divers reſpects, frequently ſupplying them with ſuch proviſions, as they could ſpare, &c.

John Scarborough, having placed his ſon under the care of a friend, ſailed for *England;* but he never returned.—His wife, who was not a *Quaker*, being unwilling to leave her native country, and perſecution beginning to ceaſe, he afterwards gave his poſſeſſions, in *Pennſylvania* to his ſon, whom he had left in the province; with a ſtrict charge, when it ſhould be in his power, to be kind to the poor *Indians*, for the favours he had received from them: which his ſon faithfully obſerved, and complied with; and is ſaid to have been a worthy man, and of good character. M. S.

John Chapman came from *England* in 1684. The ſhip, in which he came, by reaſon of bad weather, put into *Maryland;* where he met with *Phineas Pemberton*, whoſe father-in-law, *James Harriſon*, had purchaſed, in *Bucks* county, *Pennſylvania*, five thouſand acres of land; part of it in *Wright's* town;—hence *Chapman* getting intelligence of that part of the country, afterwards ſettled there. He went from *Maryland*, with his family, firſt to *Phineas Pemberton's* plantation, near the falls of *Delaware;* who had now made a convenient ſettlement, and entertained the *new-comers* with much kindneſs.—From hence *Chapman* went to his purchaſe, in *Wrights-town;* where, within about twelve months afterwards, his wife had two ſons at one time; whence he called the place *Twins-borough*.

At this time *Chapman's* place was the furtheſt back, in the woods, of any *Engliſh* ſettlement; and the *Indians*, being then numerous, much frequented his houſe, in great companies, and were very kind to him and his family, as well as to thoſe who came after him; often ſupplying them with

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First employment of the ſettlers, on their arrival, &c.

The country was a wilderneſs.

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with corn, and other proviſions; which in thoſe early times, more eſpecially in that part of country, were very ſcarce, and hard to be procured.—

In one of theſe ſcarce times *J. Chapman's* eldeſt daughter, *Mara*, ſupplied his family by an incident unexpected;—being near *Neſhaminy* creek, which runs into the *Delaware*, ſhe heard an unuſual noiſe, like that of ſomething in diſtreſs; upon ſearch, ſhe found a large *Buck*, which had diſengaged himſelf from a wolf, that a little before had ſeized on him, and had fled to the creek, for ſafety, under a high bank;—the *Buck* ſtood ſtill, till ſhe took the halter from the horſe, on which ſhe rode, and with a ſtick, put it over his horns; whereby ſhe ſecured him, till aſſiſtance came; on which the wolf retired:—ſuch incidents as this, in thoſe times, were looked upon as providential favours:—

Abraham and *Joſeph Chapman*, the twins before mentioned, when boys, about nine or ten years old, going out one evening, to ſeek their cattle, met an *Indian*, in the woods; who told them to go back; elſe they would be loſt. Soon after this they took his advice, and went back; but it was within night before they got home; where they found the *Indian*; who, being careful leſt they ſhould loſe themſelves, had repaired thither, in the night, to ſee, &c. And their parents, about that time, going to the yearly meeting at *Philadelphia*, and leaving a young family at home, (they being *Quakers*) the *Indians* came every day, to ſee whether any thing was amiſs among them.—Such, in many inſtances was the kind treatment and behaviour of the natives, or aborigines, of this country, to the *Engliſh*, in their firſt and early ſettlement of it.

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1682. underwent all difficulties of this nature, and divine Providence bleſſed their induſtry.*

For

*In a ſhort treatiſe, printed and publiſhed in London, by Andrew Sowle, in *Shoreditch*, 1684, (but without the author's name) the views and motives of ſome of theſe early coloniſts ſeem, in a more particular manner, to be exhibited.—The title and introductory part of it here follow, as a ſpecimen, *viz.*

" The Planter's ſpeech to his neighbours and countrymen of *Pennſylvania*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Jerſey*, and to all ſuch as have tranſported themſelves into *new colonies*, for the ſake of a quiet and retired life.

" *My dear friends and countrymen*,

" Though it may ſeem very impertinent and unneceſſary to go about to repeat to you the occaſions and motives, that inclined you to abandon the land of your nativity, and thoſe comfortable outward employments and accommodations, which moſt of you had there, and to adventure yourſelves to the hazzards of a long voyage at ſea, to come to this remote part of the world; yet, leſt you ſhould forget thoſe inducements, as often it happens, that men, by a ſlothful negligence, or ignorance, after ſome tract of time, fall from their firſt love, and blindly hurry themſelves into the very ſame miſchiefs, which they intended to avoid, and build up again what they juſtly endeavoured to deſtroy, not foreſeeing the future ill conſequences of their preſent (ſuppoſed innocent) actings; I ſhall take leave briefly to mention ſome few of thoſe weighty cauſes which I am confident, originally ſwayed your ſpirits to this tranſplantation, and thoſe good ends, for the obtaining of which, you chiefly removed hither.

" The motives of your retreating to theſe new habitations, I apprehend, (meaſuring your ſentiments by my own) to have been,

1ſt. " The deſires of a *peaceable life*, where we might worſhip God, and obey his law, with freedom, according to the dictates of the divine principle, unincumbered with the mouldy errors of fierce invaſions of tradition, politic craft, covetous, or ambitious cruelty," &c.

2d. " That we might here, as on a *virgin elyſian ſhore*, commence, or improve, ſuch an innocent courſe of life, as might unload us of thoſe outward cares, vexations and turmoils, which before we were always ſubject unto, from the hands of ſelf deſigning and unreaſonable men.

3d. " That, as *Lot*, by flying to little *Zoar*, from the ungodly company of a more populous, magnificent dwelling, we might avoid both being grieved with the ſight of infectious, as well as odious examples, of *horrid ſwearings*, *curſings*, *drunkenneſs*, *gluttony*, *uncleanneſs*, and all kinds of *debauchery*, continually committed with greedineſs; and alſo eſcape the judgments, threatned to every land, polluted with ſuch abominations.

4th. " That, as *trees* are tranſplanted from one ſoil to another, to render them more thriving, and better bearers, ſo we here, in peace and ſecure retirement, under the bountiful protection of God, and in the lap of the leaſt adulterated nature, might every one the better improve his talent, and bring forth more plenteous fruits, to the glory of God, and public welfare of the whole creation.

5th. " And laſtly, That in order hereunto, by our holy *doctrine*, and the *practical teachings* of our exemplary, abſtemious lives, tranſacted in all humility, ſobriety, plainneſs, ſelf-denial, virtue and honeſty, we might gain upon thoſe thouſands of poor dark ſouls, ſcattered round about us, (and commonly, in way of contempt, and reproach, called *heathens*) and bring them, not only to a ſtate of *civility*, but real *piety*; which

For theſe firſt comers, after their arrival, ſoon cleared land enough, to make way for a crop of *Indian corn*, in the ſucceeding ſpring; and in a year or two, they began upon wheat, and other grain; thus they went on improving, till they got into a comfortable way of living; ſo that many of them 1682.

They ſoon get into a proſperous way of living, &c.

which effected, would turn to a more ſatisfactory account, than if, with the proud *Spaniards*, we had gained the mines of Potoſi, and might make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, bluſh, for their petty and ſhameful victories, which only tend to make their fellow creatures *ſlaves* to thoſe, that are already the *Devil's vaſſals:* whereas hereby we might releaſe millions from the chains of *Satan*, and not only teach them their rights, as *Men*, and their happineſs, when *Chriſtians*, but bring them from the power of darkneſs into the marvellous light, and the glorious liberty of the ſons of the Moſt High.

"These thoughts, theſe deſigns, my friends, were thoſe, that brought you hither; and ſo far only, as you purſue and accompliſh them, you obtain the end of your journey. If theſe be neglected, though your ports and rivers were full of *trading ſhips*, your land never ſo *populous*, and loaden with moſt vendible commodities, yet I would be bold to ſay, that your plantations were in a moſt *unthriving condition;* that like men in a fever, tumbling from one ſide of the bed to the other, you have ſhifted your dwelling, but not recovered your health; nor are one inch nearer your propoſed happineſs, in *America*, than in *Europe;* and have travelled ſome thouſands of miles, to as little purpoſe, as the *Jeſuits*, into *Japan* and *China*, or fooliſh pilgrims, in their tedious, vain, journeys to *Compoſtella*, *Loretto*, or *Jeruſalem*.

"Our buſineſs, therefore, here, in this *new land*, is not ſo much to *build houſes*, and *eſtabliſh factories*, and promote *trade* and *manufactories*, that may enrich ourſelves, (though all theſe things, in their due place, are not to be neglected) as to erect temples of *holineſs* and *righteouſneſs*, which *God* may delight in; to lay ſuch laſting frames and foundations of *temperance* and *virtue*, as may ſupport the ſuperſtructures of our future happineſs, both in this, and the other world.

"In order to theſe great and glorious ends, it will well become, nay, it is the indiſpenſible duty of all, that are *ſuperiors* amongſt us, to make *laws*, and imitate *cuſtoms*, that may tend to *innocency*, and an *harmleſs life;* ſo as to avoid and prevent all oppreſſion and violence, either to *men* or *beaſts;* by which we ſhall ſtrengthen the principle of *well-doing*, and qualify the fierce, bitter, envious, wrathful ſpirit; which, (as 'tis ſaid of fire and water, in the extremes) is a good *ſervant*, but a bad maſter," &c.

N. B. In the remainder of this performance, divers particulars are propoſed, as fundamentals, for future laws and cuſtoms, tending principally to eſtabliſh a higher degree of temperance, and original ſimplicity of manners;—more particularly againſt the uſe of *ſpirituous liquors*, than had been uſual before.—Every thing of a *military* nature, even, the uſe of the inſtruments thereof, is not only diſapproved and the diſtruction of the human ſpecies thereby, condemned in this *ſpeech*, but likewiſe all violence, or cruelty, towards, and the *wanton killing* of, the inferior living creatures, with the *eating of animal food*, are alſo ſtrongly adviſed againſt, in thoſe propoſed regulations, cuſtoms, or laws, with the reaſons given, &c. to the end that a higher degree of love, perfection and happineſs might more univerſally be introduced and preſerved, among mankind, &c.

1682. them were bleſſed both with the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life beyond their expectation; and, after having lived to old age, they are ſaid to have frequently recollected and ſpoke of the favours of divine Providence, in preſerving them through the difficulties, with which they encountered, in their firſt and early ſettling the country: Of which the following extract from the teſtimony of one of them, being a *Quaker*, a perſon of an approved character, is an inſtance, and exhibits a ſpecimen of this nature, *viz.*

Richard Townſends account of his removal to *Pennſylvania*, &c.

"*The* teſtimony *of* Richard Townſend, *ſhewing the providential hand of God, to him and others, from the firſt ſettlement of* Pennſylvania, *to this day.* (*About the year* 1727.)

"Whereas King *Charles* the ſecond, in the year 1681, was pleaſed to grant this province to *William Penn*, and his heirs, for ever; which act ſeemed to be an act of *Providence* to many religious, good, people; and the Proprietor, *William Penn*, being one of the people called *Quakers*, and in good eſteem, among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him, for the ſettlement of this place.

"To that end, in the year 1682 ſeveral ſhips being provided, I found a concern on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child; and about the latter end of the Sixth-month, having ſettled my affairs in *London*, where I dwelt, I went, on board the ſhip *Welcome*, *Robert Greenaway*, commander, in company with my worthy friend, *William Penn;* whoſe good converſation was very advantageous to all the company. His ſingular care was manifeſted, in contributing to the neceſſities of many, who were ſick of the *Small-pox*, then on board; out of which company about thirty died.—After a proſperous paſſage of about two months, having had, in that time, many good meetings, on board, we arrived here.

"At

" At our arrival, we found it a wilderneſs; the chief inhabitants were *Indians*, and ſome *Swedes;* who received us in a friendly manner: and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of *Providence* was ſeen in a particular manner; in that proviſions were found for us, by the *Swedes* and *Indians*, at very reaſonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before. 1682. Richard Townſend's account, &c.

" Our firſt concern was to keep up and maintain our *religious worſhip;* and, in order thereunto, we had ſeveral *meetings*, in the houſes of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-houſe was ſet up, where the city was to be, near *Delaware;* and, as we had nothing but love and good-will, in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings, from time to time; and after our meeting was over, we aſſiſted each other, in building little houſes, for our ſhelter.

" After ſome time I ſet up a *mill*, on *Cheſter* creek; which I brought ready framed from *London;* which ſerved for grinding of corn, and ſawing of boards; and was of great uſe to us. Beſides, I, with *Joſhua Tittery*, made a net, and caught great quantities of fiſh; which ſupplied ourſelves and many others; ſo that, notwithſtanding it was thought near three thouſand perſons came in the firſt year, we were ſo providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two ſhillings, and a large turkey, for about one ſhilling, and *Indian* corn for about two ſhillings and ſix pence per buſhel.

" And, as our worthy Proprietor treated the *Indians* with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of veniſon. As, in other countries, the *Indians* were exaſperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodſhed, ſo the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

1682. "About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families from high and low *Germany*, of religious, good people; who ſettled about ſix miles from *Philadelphia*, and called the place *Germantown*.—The country continually increaſing, people began to ſpread themſelves further back.—"Alſo a place called *North Wales*, was ſettled by many of the *ancient Britons*, an honeſt inclined people, although they had not then made a profeſſion of the truth, as held by us, yet, in a little time, a large convincement was among them; and divers meeting-houſes were built.

Richard Townſends account, &c.

"About the time, in which *Germantown* was laid out, I ſettled upon my tract of land, which I had purchaſed of the Proprietor, in *England*, about a mile from thence; where I ſet up a houſe and a corn mill;—which was very uſeful to the country, for ſeveral miles round:—But there not being plenty of horſes, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles;—I remember one man had a bull ſo gentle, that he uſed to bring his corn on him, inſtead of a horſe.

"Being now ſettled about ſix or ſeven miles from *Philadelphia*, where leaving the principal body of friends, together with the chief place of proviſions, as before mentioned, fleſh meat was very ſcarce with me, for ſome time; of which I found the want. I remember I was once ſupplied by a particular inſtance of Providence, in the following manner:—

"As I was in my meadow, mowing graſs, a young deer came and looked on me; I continued mowing, and the deer in the ſame attention to me; upon which I laid down my ſcythe, and went towards him; upon which he ran off a ſmall diſtance; I went to my work again, and the Deer continued looking on me; ſo that ſeveral times I left my work, to go towards him; but he ſtill kept himſelf at a diſtance; at laſt, as I was going towards him,

him, and he, looking on me, did not mind his steps, but ran forceably against the trunk of a tree, and stunned himself so much, that he fell; upon which I ran forward, and, getting upon him, held him by the legs:—After a great struggle, in which I had almost tired him out, and rendered him lifeless, I threw him on my shoulders, holding him fast by the legs, and, with some difficulty, from his fresh struggling, carried him home, about a quarter of a mile, to my house; where, by the assistance of a neighbour, who happened to be there, and killed him for me; he proved very serviceable to my family. I could relate several other acts of Providence, of this kind, but omit them for brevity. 1682. Richard Townsends account, &c.

"As people began to spread, and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful; so that those, who came after us, were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad. And as *Philadelphia* increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a *wilderness*, the Lord, by his good hand of providence, hath made it a fruitful field:—On which to look back, and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose; yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory pretty clear, concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the *Almighty*, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our meetings; wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving kindness, in reaching to, and convincing many persons of the principles of truth; and those, that were already convinced and continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew

1682. dew of Heaven:—"I am engaged, in my ſpirit, to ſupplicate the continuance thereof to the preſent riſing generation; that, as God hath bleſſed their parents, the ſame bleſſing may remain on their offſpring, to the end of time; that it may be ſo is the hearty deſire and prayer of their ancient and loving friend,

Richard Townſends account, &c.

RICHARD TOWNSEND."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

Beginning of the city of Philadelphia.—John Key, the first born.—Province and territory divided into counties.—First General Assembly at Philadelphia in 1683.*—Names of the members, and memorials of some of them.—Proceedings of the Assembly.—Second charter, or frame of government.—A seal for each county; the first Sheriffs.—First grand and petit jury, with their business, &c.—Further account of the situation and plan of Philadelphia.—William Penn's letter to the free society of traders, giving an account of Pennsylvania at that time.*

IN the latter part of this year, 1682, the Proprietary, having finished his business with the *Indians*, undertook, with the assistance of his Surveyor General, *Thomas Holme*, to lay out a place for the city. The ground, which was chosen for that purpose, was claimed by some *Swedes*; to whom he gave, in exchange for it, a larger quantity of land, at a small distance. 1682.

A place chosen and laid out, for the city of *Philadelphia*, &c.

The situation of this place, being where *Philadelphia* now stands, along the western side of the river *Delaware*, then exhibited, on the said river, an agreeable prospect; it had a high and dry bank next the water, with a high shore, ornamented with a fine view of Pine trees, growing upon it.

In this bank many of the first and early adventurers had their caves, or holes, for their residence, before any houses were built, or better accommodations prepared for them. The first house erected on

First house in Philadelphia, &c.

1682. on this plot of ground, was built by *George Gueſt*, and not finiſhed at the time of the Proprietor's arrival.*

Soon afterwards many ſmall houſes were erected. *William Penn* himſelf had a large manſion houſe, built on his *Manor* of *Pennſbury*, near the ſide of *Delaware*, a few miles below the *falls* of *Trenton*, and about twenty-ſix above the city: which appears to have been undertaken before his arrival, and intended for his reception. Here afterwards he ſometimes reſided, and had meetings and conferences with the *Indians*, both on a religious and civil account.

Province and territory divided into counties, &c.

About this time alſo the Proprietor, with the conſent of the purchaſers under him, divided the province and territories, each into three counties; thoſe of the province were called the counties of *Bucks*, *Philadelphia*, and *Cheſter;* thoſe of the territories, *New-caſtle*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*. For which having appointed *Sheriffs*, and other proper officers, in each county, he iſſued writs,† for the election

* "This houſe was then building in *Budd's row*, near that called *Powell's dock*.—He, for many years afterwards, kept a tavern there, called the *Blue anchor*."

John Key, who was ſaid to be the firſt born child of *Engliſh* parents, in *Philadelphia*, and that, in compliment of which *William Penn* gave him a lot of ground, died at *Kennet*, in *Cheſter* county, on the fifth of July, 1767, in the eighty-fifth year of his age; where his corps was interred, in the *Quakers* burying ground, the next day, attended by a great concourſe of people.—He was born in a cave, long afterwards known by the name of *Penny-pot*, near *Saſſafras-ſtreet*.—I have ſeen him myſelf more than once, in the city; to which, about ſix years before his death, he walked on foot, from *Kennet*, about thirty miles, in one day. In the latter part of his life, he generally in the city, went under the name of *firſt born*.

† The following form of theſe writs is taken from the original, *viz.*

(L. S.) "William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennſylvania, and the territories thereunto belonging:

"I do hereby, in the King's name, empower and require thee to ſummon all the freeholders, in thy bailiwick, to meet on the 20th. day of the next month, at the falls upon *Delaware* river; and that they then and there, elect and chuſe out of themſelves, twelve perſons of moſt note for wiſdom and integrity, to ſerve as their delegates, in the provincial council, to be held at *Philadelphia*, the 10th. day of the firſt month next; and

election of members of Council and Assembly, conformable to the constitution, at that time. 1683.

He met the Council on the tenth day of the First month, 1683, O. S. at *Philadelphia*, and the Assembly, two days afterwards. The number of the members for both the Council and Assembly consisted of twelve, out of each county: three for the Council, and nine for the Assembly, making in all, seventy-two. Those of the Council were:— The Proprietary meets the first Council and Assembly, at Philadelphia.

William Markham,	Edward Cantwell,
Christopher Taylor,	William Clayton,
Thomas Holme,	William Biles,
Lacy Cock,	James Harrison,
William Haige,	William Clark,
John Moll,	Francis Whitewell,
Ralf Withers,	John Richardson,
John Simcock,	John Hillyard.

Names of the Council.

The members of Assembly for each county were:

For Bucks.	*For Philadelphia.*
William Yardly,	John Songhurst,
Samuel Darke,	John Hart,
Robert Lucas,	Walter King,
Nicholas Walne,	Andros Binkson,
John Wood,	John Moon,
John Clowes,	Thomas Wynne, *Speaker*,
Thomas Fitzwater,	Griffith Jones,
Robert Hall,	William Warner,
James Boyden.	Swan Swanson.

Names of the Assembly.

For

and that thou there declare to the said freemen, that they may all personally appear at an Assembly, at the place aforesaid, according to the contents of my charter of liberties; of which thou art to make me a true and faithful return.

"*Given at* Philadelphia, *the* *day of the* *month*, 1682.

WILLIAM PENN."

"*To Richard Noble, High Sheriff of the county of Bucks; and the other five Sheriffs likewise for their several counties.*"

1683. *For Cheſter.*

John Hoſkins,
Robert Wade,
George Wood,
John Blunſton,
Dennis Rochford,
Thomas Bracy,
John Bezer,
John Harding,
Joſeph Phipps.

For New-caſtle.

John Cann,
John Darby,
Valentine Hollingſworth,
Gaſparus Herman,
John Dehoaef,
James Williams,
William Gueſt,
Peter Alrick,
Henrick Williams.

For Kent.

John Biggs,
Simon Irons,
Thomas Haſſold,
John Curtis,
Robert Bedwell,
William Windſmore,
John Brinkloe,
Daniel Brown,
Benony Biſhop.

For Suſſex.

Luke Watſon,
Alexander Draper,
William Futcher,
Henry Bowman,
Alexander Moleſton,
John Hill,
Robert Bracy,
John Kipſhaven,
Cornelius Verhoof.*

* I find very little on record reſpecting the particular characters of theſe members of this firſt provincial Council and Aſſembly, which met at *Philadelphia:*

Captain *William Markham* from London, was a relation of the Proprietor. He was afterwards ſometimes his Secretary, and ſometimes his Deputy Governor. He appears to have been an uſeful perſon, of good education, character and ability. He had the Proprietor's confidence and eſteem, till his death, in the year ———.

Chriſtopher Taylor is ſaid to have been a perſon of excellent character and ability, he was born in *Yorkſhire*, had a good education, wrote well in the Latin language.—He was an eminent preacher among the *Quakers*; and writ ſeveral pieces in defence of their religious principles, in England, as well as his brother, Thomas Taylor, &c. He was one of the firſt and principal ſettlers in the province, under William Penn; and is ſaid to have been of great ſervice in it, in different reſpects. He died in 1696.

Captain *Thomas Holme* came from *Waterford*, in *Ireland*.—He was one of the people called *Quakers*, and *Surveyor-General* of the province, appointed by commiſſion, from the Proprietor, bearing date, the 18th. of the Second month, 1682.

Lacy Cock appears to have been one of the *Swede* ſettlers, prior to *William Penn's* arrival.

John Simcock came from *Ridley*, in *Cheſhire*, in England, where he had ſuffered much for his religion, being a *Quaker*, and a preacher in that ſociety. He had a good education, was one of the Proprietor's firſt commiſſioners of property, and one of his moſt truſty friends, in the government. Sometimes he was Speaker of the Aſſembly; and is ſaid to have

Though the charter of privileges, or frame of government, required a greater number, than were now returned, to ſerve in Council and Aſſembly, yet it was left to be explained and confirmed by the Governor, his heirs and aſſigns, and by the freemen of the province and territories; therefore, finding it too inconvenient to return the full complement, preſcribed by charter, the freemen depended upon the Proprietor's conſtruction of their choice, in a favourable manner; and alledged their reaſons, both in the Sheriffs' returns, and alſo by divers petitions and addreſſes, for chuſing only twelve for each county, as ſufficient to compoſe both the Council and Aſſembly; declaring that the number returned, that is, three for the Council, and nine for the Aſſembly, from each county,

1683.

Proceedings of the Aſſembly. &c.

The freemen do not ſtrictly comply with their charter, &c.

have been a very worthy and ſerviceable perſon, in the province; till his death, both in a religious and civil capacity. He lived in *Cheſter* county; and died on the 27th. of January, 1702.

William Biles was a preacher among the *Quakers*, among the firſt ſettlers there; where he appears to have taken up land, under Governor *Andros*, of *New-York*, prior to *William Penn's* grant of the province, He is ſaid to have been a very uſeful perſon both in the civil and religious line; being often in the Council and Aſſembly, &c.

James Harriſon came from *Boulton*, in *Lancaſhire*, one of the Proprietor's firſt commiſſioners of property; was divers years in great eſteem with him, and his agent, at *Pennſbury*, &c. being a man of good education, and a preacher among the *Quakers*, &c.

William Haige, had been a merchant in London.

Ralph Withers, from Biſhop's Canning in Wiltſhire.

Griffith Jones, from Surry.

Francis Whitewell was counſellor for *Kent* county. He is ſaid to have been a very ſerviceable perſon, in the government, among the firſt and early ſettlers; a preacher among the *Quakers;* and every way a very uſeful and worthy member of ſociety. He died in the year 1684; and *William Darval* was choſen Counſellor in his ſtead.

Thomas Wynne was Speaker of the Aſſembly, during the two firſt years, and was, at other times, a member of it. He was one of the people called *Quakers*, a preacher among them, and came from *North Wales;* a perſon of note and good character:—He died in the latter part of the year 1692.—He was author of ſome pieces written in defence of the *Quakers*, in his native country, &c.

John Moon was originally of *Lancaſhire* in England, afterwards of *Briſtol:*—He writ ſome pieces in defence of the *Quakers*, in his native country, &c.

John Songburſt came from *Suſſex*, in England, was a writer and preacher among the *Quakers.*—He died in *Weſt-Jerſey*, and was buried in *Philadelphia*, in 1688.

1683. county, had in them the power of the whole freemen of the province and territories, and conſequently, of ſerving in theſe capacities.

It was accordingly requeſted of the Governor, that this alteration might not deprive the people of the benefit of their charter, though it might ſeem to be returned to him again, by not being accepted ſo largely as granted. Upon which the Governor anſwered, "That they might amend, alter, or add, for the public good; and, that he was ready to ſettle ſuch foundations, as might be for their happineſs, according to the powers veſted in him."

Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, the different branches of the Legiſlature proceeded on buſineſs, according to the method preſcribed in their charter of privileges, that the Governor and Provincial Council ſhould propoſe to the Aſſembly, and prepare all bills, which they, at any time, ſhould think proper to be paſſed into laws, conſiſtent with the powers granted, in the King's letters patent.

Proceedings of the Aſſembly, &c.

In ſuch popular and unexperienced Councils, where every man may propoſe any thing, which he fancies will tend to the public good, it is no wonder, if extraordinary propoſitions ſhould ſometimes be made; and though many ſingularities of this nature do not appear to have occurred in this province, yet, probably, the two following, which are ſaid to have been made, at this time, may be ranked under this deſcription: Firſt, that young men ſhould be obliged to marry at, or before a certain age: Second, that two ſorts of cloaths only ſhall be worn; one for winter, and the other for ſummer.—Of the propoſitions, which were now made, ſome were agreed to, and ſome rejected: but the principal thing done, this ſeſſion, was the alteration of the charter of liberties, called the *frame of government*, which had before been in agitation.

Two ſingular propoſitions, &c.

At

At a Council, held the 20th. of the First month, the speaker, and two members of Assembly attending with some bills, which had been sent to them, the Governor and Council desired a conference with the whole house and freemen, about the charter. Upon their attending, the Governor asked them, "*Whether they chose to have the old charter, or a new one?*" They unanimously requested a new one, with such amendments, as had already been debated and agreed on. To which the Governor consented, and made a speeeh to them, on the occasion; in which he distinguished their duty, and his own willingness to oblige them. Next day the house sent *Griffith Jones* and *Thomas Fitzwater*, two of their members, with a written message to the Governor, containing their thankful acknowledgments, for his kind speech, and gratefully embracing his offers, respecting what they desired to be inserted in their charter. 1683.

The house and freemen request a new charter, &c.

A committee of each house was thereupon appointed to draw up the *charter*, with amendments: Those of the Council were, *John Moll*, for *Newcastle; Francis Whitewell*, for *Kent; William Clark*, for *Sussex; James Harrison*, for *Bucks; William Clayton*, for *Chester;* and *Thomas Holme*, for *Philadelphia*. The committee of Assembly were: *James Williams*, for *New-castle; Benony Bishop*, for *Kent; Luke Watson*, for *Sussex; Thomas Fitzwater*, for *Bucks; Dennis Rochford*, for *Chester;* and *Thomas Wynne*, the Speaker, for *Philadelphia* county.

At a council held the 30th. of the First-month, this year, the charter being prepared and read, signed, sealed and delivered by the Governor, was received by *James Harrison*, *Thomas Wynne*, and another member, on behalf of the assembly and freemen, who returned the old one to the Governor, with the hearty thanks of the whole house; which new charter may be seen in the appendix, No. 3.

A new charter obtained from the Proprietary.

By

1683. By this charter the provincial council was to consiſt of eighteen perſons, three from each county; and the aſſembly was to be compoſed of thirty-ſix; men of moſt note, for virtue, wiſdom and ability; by whom, with the Governor, all laws were to be made, officers choſen, and public affairs tranſacted, in the manner therein expreſſed.

Purport of this charter, &c.

This charter continued in force till after the revolution, in *England;* and though in ſome parts, it was formed upon a generous plan; yet all the laws were thereby ſtill to be prepared and propoſed by the Governor and Council; and the number of Aſſemblymen were to be increaſed at their pleaſure. This charter, with another, which followed, in the year 1696, ſeemed to be only preparatory to the laſt *Charter of Privileges*, granted in 1701.

This was the laſt affair tranſacted at this ſeſſion; which continued twenty-two days.—The Governor and Council, among other regulations, eſtabliſhed a *Seal*, for each county, viz. for *Philadelphia*, an *Anchor;* for *Bucks*, a *Tree & Vine;* for *Cheſter*, a *Plow;* for *New-Caſtle*, a *Caſſia;* for *Kent*, *three Ears of Indian Corn;* and for *Suſſex*, a *Wheat Sheaf.*

A ſeal for each county.

The firſt ſheriffs, appointed for each county, were: for *Philadelphia*, *John Teſt;* *Cheſter*, *Thomas Uſher;* *Bucks*, *Richard Noble;* *New-Caſtle*, *Edmund Cantwell;* *Kent*, *Peter Bowcomb;* *Suſſex*, *John Vines.*

Firſt Sheriffs.

The firſt *Grand Jury*, in *Pennſylvania*, was ſummoned on the ſecond of the third month, this year, (1683) upon ſome perſons, accuſed of iſſuing counterfeit ſilver money. The Governor and Council ſat, as a Court of Juſtice, on the occaſion. The names of thoſe impanelled and atteſted to ſerve on the *Grand Jury* were, *Thomas Lloyd*, Foreman, *Enoch Flower*, *Richard Wood*, *John Harding*, *John Hill*, *Edward Louff*, *James Boyden*, *Nicholas Walne*, *John James*, *John Vanborſon*, *Robert Hall*, *Valentine Hollingſworth*, *Alexander Draper*, *John Louff*, *John*

Firſt grand jury, &c.

Names of the firſt grand jurymen, &c.

John Wale, *Samuel Darke*, *John Parſons*, *John Blunſton*, *Thomas Fitzwater*, *William Gueſt*, *John Curtis*, *Robert Lucas*, *Henry Jones* and *Caleb Puſey*. 1683.

A bill or bills, being found by the *Grand Jury*, a *Petty Jury* was therefore impanelled and atteſted; whoſe names were: *John Claypoole*, Foreman, *Robert Turner*, *Robert Ewer*, *Andrew Binkſon*, *John Barnes*, *Joſeph Fiſher*, *Dennis Rochford*, *William Howell*, *Walter King*, *Benjamin Whitehead*, *Thomas Rouſe* and *David Breintnall*. Names of of the petty jury.

They convicted a perſon, whoſe name was Pickering, and two others, his accomplices, of coining and ſtamping ſilver, in the form of *Spaniſh* pieces, with the alloy of too much copper in it. Upon which *Pickering's* ſentence, as principal, was, that for this high miſdemeanour, whereof his country had found him guilty, he ſhould make full ſatisfaction, in good and current pay, to every perſon, who ſhould, within the ſpace of one month, bring in any of this falſe, baſe and counterfeit coin, (which the next day was to be called in by proclamation,) according to their reſpective proportions; and that the money brought in, ſhould be melted down before it was returned to him; and that he ſhould pay a fine of *forty pounds* towards the building of a *Court-houſe*, ſtand committed till the ſame was paid, and afterwards find ſecurity for his good behaviour. The ſentence paſſed on a perſon for counterfeiting money.

This and all other affairs, before the Council, being finiſhed, and the members returned to their habitations, the Proprietary applied himſelf to finiſh his plan, and regulate the ſtreets, of his favorite city, *Philadelphia*. W. Penn finiſhes his plan and regulation of Phiadelphia.

This city is ſituated forty degrees, or more preciſely 39 degrees, 56 minutes, 54 ſeconds, north from the equator, and about ſeventy-five degrees, or more accurately 5 hours, 0 minutes, 35 ſeconds, Situation of the city &c.

1683. conds, weſt from *London*, on the weſt ſide of the river *Delaware;* which river, at this place, is near one mile broad, at the diſtance of about forty leagues from the ſea, along the courſe of the river and bay. The river *Sculkil*, which is a branch of the *Delaware*, and here runs nearly parallel to it, at the diſtance of two miles weſtward, is broad and deep enough for large ſhips, at this place; but, by reaſon of a *ſand-bar*, at its mouth, where it enters the *Delaware*, about four miles below the city, its navigation, for large veſſels, is obſtructed: And it has *falls* about five miles above the city, to which the tide runs, and no further. Over which *falls*, or rocks, at certain times, in floods and freſhes, boats and ſmall craft paſs down to the city, with country produce, as, iron, wheat, flour, &c. from the interior parts of the province. The tide riſes, in the *Delaware*, generally about ſix feet, at the city, and flows near thirty miles above it, to the falls at *Trenton*, on the *Jerſey* ſhore, and is navigable all the way for large ſhipping, as far as that place. But the extent of this river, including all its curves and windings, above theſe *falls*, (much of which may eaſily be made navigable) is not yet preciſely known.

Deſcription of the plan and ſtreets of Philadelphia, &c.

The original plan of this city, as confirmed by charter, dated October 25th. 1701, extends, in length, between the river *Delaware*, on the eaſt, and *Sculkil*, on the weſt of it, about two miles; and is, in breadth, one mile nearly, on each river. The ſtreets, which run right, and exactly parallel to each other, nearly eaſt and weſt, from river to river, are nine in number, and they are interſected, at right angles, by twenty-three others, running nearly parallel with the rivers, north and ſouth; none being leſs than fifty, nor more than one hundred feet broad.

The Proprietor likewiſe aſſigned five ſquares, within this plan, for the public uſe of the city, with

with other beneficial regulations; whoſe future great importance to the city, having ſince not been ſufficiently conſidered and attended to, ſome of them have either been neglected, or violated. 1683.

The largeſt public ſquare, at the center, it is ſaid, was intended to contain ten acres of land; the other four, eight acres each. In the original plan by *Thomas Holme*, Surveyor General, the proportions, dimenſions and ſituations of all the original ſquares and ſtreets, with the names of the latter, then given them, and ſtill generally retained, are exhibited, as well as in the following deſcription of it, *viz.*

The diſtances of the ſtreets from each other, from eaſt to weſt, with their names and dimenſions are:—

From Delaware Front-ſtreet to Second-ſtreet,	*feet*	396
Second-ſtreet to Third-ſtreet,		496
Third to Fourth,		396
Fourth to Fifth,		396
Fifth to Sixth,		396
Sixth to Seventh,		396
Seventh to Eighth,		396
Eighth to Ninth,		396
Ninth to Tenth,		396
Tenth to Eleventh,		396
Eleventh to Broad-ſtreet,		528
Ten ſtreets, 50 feet each,		500
Diſtance from *Delaware* Front-ſtreet to Broad-ſtreet,		5088
Diſtance from *Sculkil* Front-ſtreet to Broad-ſtreet,		5088
Broad-ſtreet,		100
Diſtance on High-ſtreet, between the two Front-ſtreets of *Delaware* and *Scuſkil*, excluſive of the ſaid two ſtreets, and their diſtances from each river, equal to two miles, wanting 304 feet.*		10,276

Dimenſions of the ſtreets, ſquares, &c.

The

* The breadth of the Front-ſtreets, on *Delaware* and *Scuſkil*, was not then aſcertained, when the plan was firſt made; nor the ſpace of ground between them and the reſpective rivers; ſo that the whole diſtance from river to river, appears to be ſomewhat more than two miles, at leaſt in ſome part of the plan.

The

1683. The diſtances, names and dimenſions of all the ſtreets, from north to ſouth, are:—

From Vine-ſtreet to Saſſafras-ſtreet,	- -	*feet* 612
Saſſafras to Mulberry,	- - -	614
Mulberry to High,	- - -	663
High to Cheſnut,	- - - -	497
Cheſnut to Walnut,	- - -	510
Walnut to Spruce,	- - -	821
Spruce to Pine,	- - -	468
Pine to Cedar,	- - - -	652
Seven ſtreets, 50 feet each,	- -	350
High-ſtreet 100 feet, Mulberry-ſtreet, 66 feet,		166
Diſtance from Cedar-ſtreet to Vine-ſtreet, incluſive, equal to one mile and 73 feet, north and ſouth nearly, including all the ſtreets,	- -	5353

William

The following printed account is ſaid to be an extract from *Thomas Holme's* deſcription of this plan of the city, *viz.*

" The city, as the model ſhews, conſiſts of a large *Front-ſtreet*, on each river, and a *High-ſtreet*, near the middle, from river to river, of one hundred feet broad; and a *Broad-ſtreet*, in the middle of the city, from ſide to ſide, of the like breadth. In the centre of the city, is *a ſquare of ten acres;* at each angle to build houſes for public affairs. There is alſo in each quarter of the city, *a ſquare of eight acres*, to be for the like uſes, as *Moorfields*, in *London;* and eight ſtreets, beſides the ſaid *High-ſtreet*, that run from river to river, or from Front to Front; and twenty ſtreets beſides the *Broad-ſtreet*, and two *Front-ſtreets*, that run acroſs the city, from ſide to ſide; all theſe ſtreets are fifty feet broad."—

Similar to this deſcription of the plan, is that of *Oldmixon*, in his account of the *Britiſh* colonies, printed in *London*, 1708; who affirms, he had his information from *William Penn* himſelf;—" The town was laid out, and a draught taken of it, by Mr. *Thomas Holme*, Surveyor General of the province; which lies now before me," &c.

———" In the centre is *a ſquare of ten acres*, for the *ſtate-houſe*, *market-houſe*, *ſchool-houſe*, and chief *meeting-houſe* of the *Quakers*."—" In each quarter of this city is *a ſquare of eight acres*, to be for the like uſes, as *Moorfields*, in *London*," &c.

OLDMIXON, &c.

William Penn, in anſwer to a remonſtrance and addreſs to him, from *ſeveral of the adventurers, freeholders and inhabitants, in the city of Philadelphia*, reſpecting the *front*, or *bank*, lots, along the ſide of *Delaware*, (who in the ninth article thereof, *claimed the privilege to build vaults, or ſtores, in the bank, againſt their reſpective lots, and to enjoy them, as their right*, &c.) dated the 3d. of the Sixth month, 1684, thus expreſſes himſelf, on this part of it; (which is here taken from his own hand writing, indorſed on the back of it) and further ſhews his intention, in regard to that part of this plan of the city, *viz.*

" The bank is a top common, from end to end;—The reſt, next the water, belongs to *front-lot* men no more than *back-lot* men: The way bounds them; they may build ſtairs;—and the *top of the bank*, *a common exchange*,

William Penn, having finiſhed what related to this excellent plan, by the latter end of the Fifth, or the beginning of the Sixth month, to the general ſatisfaction of thoſe concerned, writ a letter to the committee of the *Free ſociety of traders, in London*, giving ſome account of it, and the country, in general, with ſuch obſervations, as the ſhort ſpace of time, he had reſided, and his hurry of buſineſs, in it, had permitted him to make. 1683.

The Proprietor writes an account of the province, to the ſociety of traders.

It exhibits a ſpecimen of the author's attention to a variety of objects, at the ſame time: for, while he was ſo much employed in the important eſtabliſhment of legiſlative and civil government, to benefit future times, it diſcovers a genius not leſs capable of juſt obſervation and judgment, in the inferior departments of univerſal improvement, than his general conduct otherwiſe declared him to be maſter of that true philoſophy and beſt wiſdom, which

W. Penn attentive to a variety of things.

exchange, or walk; and againſt the ſtreet common wharfs may be built freely;—but into the water, and the ſhore, is no purchaſer's," &c. M. S.

Dr. *Douglas*, of *Boſton*, in his ſummary of the *Britiſh* ſettlements in *America*, makes the following obſervations, on the *variation* of the *compaſs*, at *Philadelphia*, viz.

" The ſtreets of *Philadelphia*, (ſays he) anno 1682, were laid out with great preciſeneſs, north 18 degrees eaſt: anno 1742, they were found to be 15 degrees eaſt. This is three degrees alteration, in ſixty years, or about one degree every twenty years decreaſing.

" In the parallel of 39 degrees, in running the line between *Pennſylvania*, and *Maryland*, in 1686, the variation was found to be 9 degrees weſterly. In 1739, in running the eaſt and weſt line, it was found 5 degrees 30 minutes weſt; difference 3 degrees, 30 minutes, in fifty-three years.

" In 1743, the diviſion line was run between *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Jerſey*, 150 miles, 20 chains; when the variation of the ſouth end thereof, at *Egg Harbour*, was 5 degrees, 25 minutes weſt; and at the north end, on *Delaware* river, in latitude 41 degrees, 40 minutes, it was 6 degrees, 35 minutes weſt.

" In the ſurvey, 1739, of the eaſt and weſt diviſional line (about 15 miles ſouthward of *Philadelphia*) between *Pennſylvania* and *Maryland;* the ſurveyor allowed a variation of 5 degrees, 30 minutes, weſt; and found there was about one degree variation thereof, for every twenty late years.

" At Cape *Hinlopen*, 1748, the variation of the compaſs was 4 degrees weſt, decreaſing."

1683. which is more nearly essential to mental felicity; of which he was ever so generous and communicative. It is the best account, though only an imperfect sketch, of the original state of the province, of its *Aborigines*, and natural history, that is to be found in those times, as follows:—

W. Penn's letter, of the province, &c.

"*A letter from* William Penn, *Proprietor and Governor of* Pennsylvania, *in* America, *to the* committee *of the* Free society of traders *of that province, residing in* London: *containing a general description of the said province, its soil, air, water, seasons and produce, both natural and artificial, and the good increase thereof. With an account of the* natives, *or* aborigines.

"*My kind Friends*,

Introduction, &c.

"The kindness of yours, by the ship *Thomas* and *Ann*, doth much oblige me; for, by it I perceive the interest, you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginning of this province; which, you are so kind as to think, may much depend upon them. In return of which I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make.

He has enemies at home, in his absence, &c.

"In the first place, I take notice of the news, you sent me; whereby I find, some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a *Jesuit* too. One might have reasonably hoped, that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and, indeed, absence, being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent, as the dead; because they are equally unable, as such, to defend themselves: but they, that intend mischief, do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no *Jesuit;* and I thank God, very well. And, without injustice to the authors of this, I may

may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from *England;* which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive than I am dead. 1683.

"But, if I have been unkindly used, by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough, where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For, here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, &c. He is kindly treated in his province.

"For the *province*, the general condition of it, take as followeth:—

I. "The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as, sand, yellow and black, poor and rich: also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and, in some places, a fast fat earth; like our best vales, in *England;* especially by inland brooks and rivers: God, in his wisdom, having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer, than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil; and that is a black *hazel-mould*, upon a stony, or rocky, bottom. Of the country, soil and produce, &c.

II. "The air is sweet and clear, the Heavens serene, like the south parts of *France*, rarely overcast; and, as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine. Of the air.

III. "The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms; and in number, hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with *Barnet* and *North Hall*, not two miles from *Philadelphia*. Waters.

1683. IV. "For the ſeaſons of the year, having, by God's goodneſs, now lived over the coldeſt and hotteſt, that the oldeſt liver in the province can remember, I can ſay ſomething to an *Engliſh* underſtanding.

Fall. "Firſt, Of the *fall;* for then I came in: I found it, from the 24th. of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it uſually, in *England*, in September, or rather like an *Engliſh* mild ſpring. From December to the beginning

Winter. of the month called March, we had ſharp froſty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north eaſt winds bring with them, in *England;* but a ſky as clear as in ſummer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more cloaths, than in *England.* The reaſon of this cold is given, from the great lakes, that are fed by the fountains of *Canada.* The Winter before was as mild, ſcarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river *Delaware.* From that month, to the month cal-

Spring. led June, we enjoyed a ſweet Spring; no guſts, but gentle ſhowers, and a fine ſky. Yet, this I obſerve, that the winds here, as there, are more inconſtant, Spring and Fall, upon that turn of nature, than in Summer, or Winter. From thence

Of the Summer. to this preſent month, (Auguſt) which endeth the Summer, (commonly ſpeaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated ſometimes by cool breezes. The wind, that ruleth the Summer ſeaſon, is the ſouth weſt; but ſpring, fall and winter, it is rare to want the north-weſtern ſeven days together. And whatever miſts, fogs, or vapours, foul the Heavens by eaſterly, or ſoutherly winds, in two hours time, are blown away; the one is followed by the other: A remedy, that ſeems to have a peculiar providence in it, to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet ſtanding, being liable to retain miſts and vapours; and yet not one quarter ſo thick as I expected.

"The

V. "The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of moſt note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypreſs, cheſnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, ſaſſafras, aſh, beech, and oak of divers ſorts, as, red, white and black; Spaniſh, cheſnut, and ſwamp, the moſt durable of all. Of all which there is plenty, for the uſe of man. 1683. Natural produce, &c. Trees.

"The fruits, that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, cheſnut, walnut, plums, ſtrawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers ſorts. The great red grape (now ripe) called by ignorance, the *fox grape*, becauſe of the reliſh it hath with unſkilful palates, is in itſelf an extraordinary grape; and by art, doubtleſs, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not ſo ſweet, yet little inferior to the *Frontiniac*, as it is not much unlike in taſte, ruddineſs ſet aſide; which, in ſuch things, as well as mankind, differs the caſe much. There is a white kind of *Muſkadel*, and a little black grape, like the cluſter grape of *England*, not yet ſo ripe as the other; but they tell me, when ripe, ſweeter, and that they only want ſkilful *Vinerons*, to make good uſe of them. I intend to venture on it with my *Frenchman*, this ſeaſon, who ſhews ſome knowledge in thoſe things. Here are alſo peaches very good, and in great quantities; not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at firſt, I know not. However one may have them, by buſhels, for little: they make a pleaſant drink; and I think, not inferior to any peach you have in *England*, except the true *Newington*. It is diſputable with me, whether it be beſt to fall to fining the fruits of the country, eſpecially the grape, by the care and ſkill of art, or ſend for foreign ſtems and ſets, already good and approved. It ſeems moſt reaſonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth beſt, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by Fruits. Grapes. Peaches.

1683. another ſpecies of the ſame kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But, to ſolve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the conſequence will be, as good wine, as any *European* countries, of the ſame latitude, do yield.

Artificial produce, &c.

VI. "The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley,* oats, rye, peas, beans, ſquaſhes, pumkins, water-melons, muſk-melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in *England*, uſually bring forth.

Of animals, &c.

VII. "Of living creatures; fiſh, fowl, and the beaſts of the woods; here are divers ſorts, ſome

Beaſts.

for food and profit, and ſome for profit only: For food, as well as profit, the elk, as big as a ſmall ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, ſquirrels; and ſome eat young bear, and com-

Birds.

mend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey, (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheaſants, heath-birds, pigeons and partridges, in abundance. Of the water, the ſwan, gooſe, white and grey; brands, ducks, teal, alſo the ſnipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor ſo good have I ever eat in other

Fiſh, &c.

countries. Of fiſh, there is the ſturgeon, herring, rock, ſhad, cats-head, ſheeps-head, eel, ſmelt, pearch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, ſome ſay, ſalmon, above the falls. Of ſhell-fiſh, we have oyſters, crabs, coccles, conchs and muſcles; ſome oyſters ſix inches long; and one ſort of coccles as big as the ſtewing oyſters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by ſkin, or fur, and that are natural to theſe parts, are the wild-cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fiſher, minx, muſk-

Whale fiſhery, &c. in the bay.

rat; and of the water, the whale, for oil; of which we have good ſtore; and two companies of whalers; whoſe boats are built, will ſoon begin

* "*Edward Jones*, ſon-in-law to *Thomas Wynne*, living on the *Schuylkil*, had, with ordinary cultivation; for one grain of *Engliſh* barley, ſeventy ſtalks and ears of barley: and it is common in this country, from one buſhel ſown, to reap forty, often fifty, and ſometimes ſixty. And three pecks of wheat ſow an acre here."

their work; which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod, in the bay. 1683.

VIII. " We have no want of horses; and some are very good, and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to *Barbadoes* with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plow mostly with oxen. Horses, cattle, &c.

IX. " There are divers plants, that not only the *Indians* tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c. that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and, for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are most fragrant. Medicinal plants, &c.

X. " The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for color, greatness, figure and variety. I have seen the gardens of *London* best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods: I have sent a few to a person of quality this year, for a trial. Flowers of the woods, &c.

" Thus much of the *country;* next, of the *natives*, or *aborigines*.

XI. " The *natives* I shall consider, in their persons, language, manners, religion and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever; and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion, black, but by design; as the *Gypsies*, in *England*. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified; and using no defence against sun, or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight looked *Jew*. The thick lip, and flat nose, so frequent with the East *Indians* and *blacks*, are not common to them: For I have seen as comely *European* like faces among Of the Indians or aborigines. Their persons.

1683. among them, of both, as on your ſide the ſea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noſes of ſeveral of them have as much of the *Roman*.

Their language.

XII. "Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the *Hebrew*, in ſignification, full; like ſhort-hand, in writing, one word ſerveth in the place of three, and the reſt are ſupplied by the underſtanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenſes, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my buſineſs to underſtand it, that I might not want an Interpreter, on any occaſion; and I muſt ſay, that I know not a language ſpoken, in *Europe*, that hath words of more ſweetneſs, or greatneſs, in accent and emphaſis, than theirs; for inſtance, *Octocockon*, *Rancocas*, *Oriſton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poqueſien;* all which are names of places; and have grandeur in them. Of words of ſweetneſs, *Anna*, is mother; *Iſſimus*, a brother; *Netcap*, friend; *Uſqueoret*, very good; *Pane*, bread; *Metſa*, eat; *Matta*, no; *Hatta*, to have; *Payo*, to come; *Sepaſſen*, *Paſſijon*, the names of places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanſe*, *Secatereus*, are the names of perſons; if one aſk them for any thing they have not, they will anſwer, *Matta ne hatta;* which to tranſlate, is, *not I have;* inſtead of, I have not.

Their cuſtoms.

Of their children.

XIII. "Of their cuſtoms and manners, there is much to be ſaid; I will begin with children; ſo ſoon as they are born, they waſh them in water; and while very young, and in cold weather to chuſe, they plunge them in the rivers, to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a ſtrait, thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and ſwaddle it faſt, upon the board, to make it ſtraight; wherefore all *Indians* have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go, very young, at nine months commonly;

commonly; they wear only a ſmall clout round their waſte, till they are big; if boys, they go a fiſhing, till ripe for the woods; which is about fifteen; then they hunt; and after having given ſome proofs of their manhood, by a good return of ſkins, they may marry; elſe it is a ſhame to think of a wife. The girls ſtay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to uſe them to that young, which they muſt do when they are old; for the wives are the true ſervants of the huſbands; otherwiſe the men are very affectionate to them. 1683.

XIV. "When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear ſomething upon their heads, for an advertiſement, but ſo, as their faces are hardly to be ſeen, but when they pleaſe. The age, they marry at, if women, is about thirteen, and fourteen; if men, ſeventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder. Time of marrying, &c.

XV. "Their houſes are mats, or barks of trees, ſet on poles, in the faſhion of an *Engliſh* barn; but out of the power of the winds; for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds, or graſs. In travel they lodge in the woods, about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils, they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few boughs ſtuck round them. Their houſes, &c.

XVI. "Their diet is maize, or *Indian* corn, divers ways prepared; ſometimes roaſted in the aſhes; ſometimes beaten and boiled with water; which they call *homine;* they alſo make cakes, not unpleaſant to eat. They have likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of beans and peaſe, that are good nouriſhment; and the woods and rivers are their *larder*. Their diet.

XVII. "If an *European* comes to ſee them, or calls for lodging at their houſe, or *wigwam*, they give him the beſt place, and firſt cut. If they come to viſit us, they ſalute us with an *Itah;* which Their viſiting, &c.

1683. which is as much as to ſay, *Good be to you*, and ſet them down; which is moſtly on the ground, cloſe to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they ſpeak not a word, but obſerve all paſſages. If you give them any thing, to eat, or drink, well: for they will not aſk; and be it little, or much, if it be with kindneſs, they are well pleaſed, elſe they go away ſullen, but ſay nothing.

They are revengeful, and conceal reſentment, &c.

XVIII. "They are great concealers of their own reſentments; brought to it, I believe, by the revenge, that hath been practiſed among them. In either of theſe they are not exceeded by the *Italians*. A tragical inſtance fell out ſince I came into the country: a king's daughter, thinking herſelf ſlighted by her huſband, in ſuffering another woman to lie down between them, roſe up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it; upon which ſhe immediately died: and, for which, laſt week, he made an *offering* to her kindred, for atonement, and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death. For, till widowers have done ſo, they muſt not marry again. Some of the young women are ſaid to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaſte. When with child they know their huſbands no more, till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a ſtick, leſt they ſhould defile it; nor do their huſbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

Their great liberality, &c.

XIX. "But, in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend: give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may paſs twenty hands before it ſticks: light of heart, ſtrong affections, but ſoon ſpent. The moſt merry creatures that live, feaſt and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: wealth circulateth like the blood; all parts partake; and though none ſhall want what another hath, yet exact obſervers of property.

Some

Some kings have ſold, others preſented me with ſeveral parcels of land: the pay, or preſents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighbouring kings, and their clans being preſent, when the goods were brought out, the parties, chiefly concerned, conſulted what, and to whom, they ſhould give them. To every king then, by the hands of a perſon for that work appointed, is a proportion ſent, ſo ſorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king ſubdivideth it, in like manner, among his dependants, they hardly leaving themſelves an equal ſhare with one of their ſubjects: and be it on ſuch occaſions as feſtivals, or at their common meals, the kings diſtribute, and to themſelves laſt. They care for little; becauſe they want but little; and the reaſon is, a little contents them. In this they are ſufficiently revenged on us: if they are ignorant of our pleaſures, they are alſo free from our pains. They are not diſquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery ſuits, and exchequer reckonings. We ſweat and toil to live; their pleaſure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fiſhing and fowling; and this table is ſpread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening; their ſeats and table are the ground. Since the *Europeans* came into theſe parts, they are grown great lovers of *ſtrong liquors*, rum eſpecially; and for it exchange the richeſt of their ſkins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are reſtleſs till they have enough to ſleep; that is their cry, *ſome more, and I will go to ſleep;* but, when drunk, one of the moſt wretched ſpectacles in the world!

1683.

Their free manner of life, cuſtoms, &c.

Their late love of ſtrong liquors, &c.

XX. "In ſickneſs, impatient to be cured; and for it, give any thing, eſpecially for their children; to whom they are extremely natural. They drink, at thoſe times, a *teran*, or decoction of ſome roots in ſpring water; and, if they eat any fleſh, it muſt be

Behaviour in ſickneſs, death, &c.

1683. be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman; and the neareſt of kin fling in ſomething precious with them, as a token of their love: Their mourning is blacking of their faces; which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead; for, leſt they ſhould be loſt by time, and fall to common uſe, they pick off the graſs, that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth, with great care and exactneſs.

Of their religion, &c.

XXI. "Theſe poor people are under a dark night in things relating to *religion*, to be ſure the tradition of it: yet they believe a *God* and *immortality*, without the help of metaphyſics: for, they ſay, *There is a Great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country, to the ſouthward of them; and that the ſouls of the good ſhall go thither, where they ſhall live again.* Their *worſhip* conſiſts of two parts, *ſacrifice* and *cantico*. Their ſacrifice is their firſt fruits; the firſt and fatteſt buck they kill, goeth to the fire; where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him, that performeth the ceremony; but with ſuch marvellous fervency, and labour of body, that he will, even, ſweat to a foam. The other part is their *cantico*, performed by round dances, ſometimes words, ſometimes ſongs, then ſhouts; two being in the middle, that begin; and, by ſinging and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their poſtures, in the dance, are very antick and differing, but all keep meaſure. This is done with equal earneſtneſs and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feaſt one another. There have been two great feſtivals already; to which all come, that will. I was at one myſelf: their entertainment was a great ſeat by a ſpring, under ſome ſhady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans; which they make up in a ſquare form, in the leaves

Their feaſtings, &c.

of the ſtem, and bake them in the aſhes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go muſt carry a ſmall preſent, in their money; it may be ſixpence; which is made of the bone of a fiſh: the *black* is, with them, as *gold;* the *white, ſilver;* they call it all *wampum.* 1683.

Their money.

XXII. "Their government is by Kings; which they call *Sachama;* and thoſe by ſucceſſion, but always of the mother's ſide. For inſtance, the children of him, who is now king, will not ſucceed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his ſiſter, whoſe ſons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign; for no woman inherits. The reaſon, they render for this way of deſcent, is, that their iſſue may not be ſpurious.

Their government.

XXIII. "Every King hath his council; and that conſiſts of all the old and wiſe men of his nation; which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, ſelling of land, or traffick, without adviſing with them; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to conſider how powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occaſion to be in council with them, upon treaties for land, and to adjuſt the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The King ſits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wiſe, on each hand; behind them, or at a little diſtance, ſit the younger fry, in the ſame figure. Having conſulted and reſolved their buſineſs, the King ordered one of them to ſpeak to me; he ſtood up, came to me, and, in the name of his King, ſaluted me; then took me by the hand, and told me, "He was ordered by his King to ſpeak to me; and that now it was not he, but the King, that ſpoke; becauſe what he ſhould ſay was the King's mind."—He firſt prayed me, "To excuſe them, that they had not complied with me, the laſt time, he feared

Their mode of doing buſineſs with W. Penn &c.

1683. there might be ſome fault in the Interpreter, being neither *Indian* nor *Engliſh:* beſides, it was the *Indian* cuſtom, to deliberate, and take up much time, in council, before they reſolve; and that, if the young people, and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with ſo much delay."—Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land, they had agreed to diſpoſe of, and the price; which now is little and dear; that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time, that this perſon ſpoke, not a man of them was obſerved to whiſper or ſmile; the old, grave; the young, reverent, in their deportment. They ſpeak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never ſeen more natural ſagacity, conſidering them without the help (I was going to ſay, the ſpoil) of tradition; and he will deſerve the name of wiſe, that outwits them, in any treaty, about a thing, they underſtand. When the purchaſe was agreed, great promiſes paſſed between us, " of kindneſs and good neighbourhood, and that the *Indians* and *Engliſh* muſt live in love as long as the ſun gave light:" Which done, another made a ſpeech to the *Indians*, in the name of all the *Sachamakers*, or Kings; firſt, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them, " To love the *Chriſtians*, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government; that many Governors had been in the river; but that no Governor had come himſelf to live and ſtay here before; and having now ſuch an one, that had treated them well, they ſhould never do him, or his, any wrong."—At every ſentence of which they ſhouted, and ſaid, *Amen*, in their way.

Their mode of doing juſtice, &c.

XXIV. " The juſtice they have is pecuniary: In caſe of any wrong, or evil fact, be it murder itſelf, they atone by feaſts, and preſents of their *wampum;* which is proportioned to the quality of the

the offence, or perſon injured, or of the ſex they are of. For, in caſe they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reaſon they render, is, "That ſhe breedeth children; which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out, if ſober; and, if drunk, they forgive it, ſaying, "It was the *drink*, and not the *man*, that abuſed them." 1683.

XXV. "We have agreed, that, in all differences between us, *ſix* of each ſide ſhall end the matter. Do not abuſe them, but let them have juſtice, and you win them. The worſt is, that they are the worſe for the *Chriſtians;* who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as theſe people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the *Chriſtians* have not outlived *their ſight*, with all their pretenſions to an higher manifeſtation. What good, then, might not a good people graft, where there is ſo diſtinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beſeech God to incline the hearts of all that come into theſe parts, to outlive the knowledge of the *natives*, by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miſerable, indeed, for us to fall under the juſt cenſure of the poor *Indian* conſcience, while we make profeſſion of things ſo far tranſcending.

An agreement between them and William Penn, &c.

Their ſuſceptibility of improvement, &c.

XXVI. "For their original, I am ready to believe them of the *Jewiſh race;* I mean, of the ſtock of the *ten tribes;* and that, for the following reaſons: Firſt, they were to go to a "*land not planted, nor known;*" which, to be ſure, *Aſia* and *Africa* were, if not *Europe;* and he, that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the paſſage not uneaſy to them, as it is not impoſſible in itſelf, from the eaſtermoſt parts of of *Aſia*, to the weſtermoſt of *America*. In the next place; I find them of the like countenance, and their children of ſo lively reſemblance, that a man

Of their original.

1683. man would think himself in *Duke's place*, or *Bery-street*, in *London*, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in *rites;* they reckon by *moons;* they offer their *first fruits;* they have a kind of *feast of tabernacles;* they are said to lay their *altar* upon *twelve stones;* their *mourning a year; customs of women*, with many other things, that do not now occur.

Their resemblance of the *Jews*, &c.

" So much for the *natives;* next, the *old planters* will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony, and the concerns of it.

First European planters, &c.

XXVII. " The first planters, in these parts, were the *Dutch;* and soon after them, the *Swedes* and *Finns*. The *Dutch* applied themselves to *traffick;* the *Swedes* and *Finns*, to *husbandry*. There were some disputes between them, some years; the *Dutch* looking upon them, as intruders upon their purchase and possession; which was finally ended in the surrender, made by *John Rizeing*, the *Swedish* Governor, to *Peter Styresant*, Governor for the states of *Holland*, anno 1655.

Of the Dutch and Swede settlers, &c.

XXVIII. " The *Dutch* inhabit mostly those parts of the province, that lie upon, or near the *bay;* and the *Swedes*, the *freshes* of the river *Delaware*. There is no need of giving any description of them; who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people; yet have made no great progress, in culture, or propagation, of *fruit trees;* as, if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty, or traffick. But, I presume, the *Indians* made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, *to wit*, skins and furs, for rum, and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the *English*, who were few, before the people, concerned with me, came among them. I must needs co[illegible]mend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the *English;* they do not degene-

rate

rate from the old friendſhip, between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and ſtrong of body, ſo they have fine children, and almoſt every houſe full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; ſome, ſix, ſeven and eight ſons. And I muſt do them that right; I ſee few young men more ſober and laborious. 1683.

XXIX "The *Dutch* have a meeting place, for religious worſhip, at *New-caſtle;* and the *Swedes*, three; one at *Chriſtina*, one at *Tenecum;* and one at *Wicoco*, within half a mile of this town. Dutch and Swedes' places of worſhip.

XXX. "There reſts that I ſpeak of the condition we are in, and what ſettlement we have made: in which I will be as ſhort as I can; for I fear, and not without reaſon, that I have tried your patience with this long ſtory. The country lieth, bounded on the eaſt, by the river and bay of *Delaware*, and *eaſtern ſea;* it hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river, or bay; ſome navigable for great ſhips, ſome, for ſmall craft. Thoſe of moſt eminency are, *Chriſtina*, *Brandywine*, *Skilpot*, and *Sculkil;* any one of which have room to lay up the royal navy of *England;* there being from four to eight fathom water. Of the preſent ſtate of the country, &c. The rivers.

XXXI. "The leſſer creeks, or rivers, yet convenient for ſloops and ketches of good burden, are *Lewis*, *Meſpilion*, *Cedar*, *Dower*, *Cranbrook*, *Feverſham* and *Georges*, below; and *Chicheſter*, *Cheſter*, *Toacawny*, *Pammapecka*, *Portqueſſin*, *Neſhimenck* and *Pennberry*, in the freſhes; many leſſer, that admit boats and ſhallops. Our people are moſtly ſettled upon the upper rivers; which are pleaſant and ſweet, and generally bounded with good land: The planted part of the province and territories is caſt into ſix counties, *Philadelphia*, *Buckingham*, *Cheſter*, *New-caſtle*, *Kent* and *Suſſex;* containing about four thouſand ſouls. Two general aſſemblies have been held, and with ſuch concord Creeks. Number of counties, ſouls, aſſemblies, &c.

1683. cord and diſpatch, that they ſat but three weeks; and, at leaſt, ſeventy laws were paſſed without one diſſent, in any material thing. But of this, more hereafter, being yet raw and new, in our gear.

Their reſpect to the proprietor, &c. However I cannot forget their ſingular reſpect to me, in this infancy of things; who, by their own private expences, ſo early conſidered mine, for the public, as to preſent me with an impoſt, upon certain goods imported and exported. Which after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province, and the traders to it.

Courts of juſtice, &c. And for the well government of the ſaid counties, courts of juſtice are eſtabliſhed in every county, with proper officers, as juſtices, ſheriffs, clerks, conſtables, &c. which courts are held every two months.

Peace-makers appointed, &c. But, to prevent *law ſuits*, there are three *peace makers* choſen by every county court, in the nature of common *arbitrators*, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man.

An orphans court, &c. And ſpring and fall there is an *orphans' court*, in each county to inſpect and regulate the affairs of *orphans* and *widows*.

Of Philadelphia. XXXII. "*Philadelphia*, the expectation of thoſe, that are concerned in this province, is, at laſt, laid out, to the great content of thoſe here, that are any ways intereſted therein. The ſituation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, *Delaware* and *Sculkil;* whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile; and two from river to river. *Delaware* is a glorious river; but the *Sculkil*, being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its courſe *north caſt*, towards the fountain of *Suſquahanna* (that tends to the heart of the province, and both ſides our own) it is like to be a great part of the ſettlement of this age. I ſay little of the town itſelf, becauſe a platform* will be ſhewn you by my agent; in which thoſe who are purchaſers of me, will find their names and intereſts. But this I will ſay, for the good providence of God, that, of all the many

* See page 241, &c.

places,

places, I have ſeen in the world, I remember not one better ſeated; ſo that it ſeems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, ſprings, the loftineſs and ſoundneſs of the land, and the air, held by the people of theſe parts to be very good. It is advanced, within leſs than a year, to about four ſcore houſes and cottages, ſuch as they are; where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations, as faſt as they can; while the country men are cloſe at their farms, ſome of them got a little winter corn in the ground laſt ſeaſon; and the generality have had an handſome ſummer-crop, and are preparing for their winter corn. They reaped their barley, this year, in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; ſo that there is time, in theſe parts, for another crop of divers things, before the winter ſeaſon. We are daily in hopes of ſhipping, to add to our number; for, bleſſed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them: The ſtories of our neceſſity being either the fear of our friends, or the ſcare-crows of our enemies: For the greateſt hardſhip, we have ſuffered, hath been ſalt meat; which by fowl, in winter, and fiſh, in ſummer, together with ſome poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of veniſon, the beſt part of the year, hath been made very paſſable. I bleſs God, I am fully ſatisfied with the country and entertainment I got in it: For I find that particular content, which hath always attended me, where God, in his providence, hath made it my place and ſervice to reſide. You cannot imagine my ſtation can be, at preſent, free of more than ordinary buſineſs; and, as ſuch, I may ſay, it is a troubleſome work. But the method, things are putting in, will facilitate the charge, and give an eaſier motion to the adminiſtration of affairs. However, as it is ſome men's duty to plow, ſome to ſow, ſome to water, and ſome to reap; ſo it is the wiſdom, as well as the duty,

1683.

Number of houſes in Philadelphia, &c.

The farmers ſucceſs, &c.

W. Penn well pleaſed with the country.

And much employed in ſettling and regulating it, &c.

1683. duty, of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and chearfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

Of the intereſt and property of the Free ſociety of traders, &c.

XXXIII. "For your particular concern, I might entirely refer you to the letters of the Preſident of the ſociety; but this I will venture to ſay, your provincial ſettlements, both within and without the town for ſituation and ſoil, are without exception. Your city lot is a whole ſtreet, and one ſide of a ſtreet, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres, not eaſily valued; which is beſides your four hundred acres, in the city liberties, part of your twenty thouſand acres in the country. Your tannery hath ſuch plenty of bark, the ſaw mill, for timber, and the place of the *glaſs houſe*, are ſo conveniently poſted for water carriage, the city *lot*, for a *dock*, and the *whalery*, for a ſound and fruitful bank, and the town *Lewis*, by it, to help your people, that, by God's bleſſing, the affairs of the ſociety will naturally grow in their reputation, and profit. I am ſure, I have not turned my back upon any offer, that tended to its proſperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have ſometimes put in for a ſhare with her officers, to countenance and advance her intereſt. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do; whatſoever tends to the promotion of wine, and to the manufacture of linen, in theſe parts, I cannot but wiſh you to promote; and the *French* people are moſt likely, in both reſpects, to anſwer that deſign. To that end I would adviſe you to ſend for ſome thouſands of plants out of *France*, with ſome able *Vinerons*, and people of the other vocation: But becauſe, I believe, you have been entertained with this, and ſome other profitable ſubjects by your Preſident,* I ſhall add no more, but to aſſure you, that I am heartily inclined to advance your juſt intereſt, and that you will always find me

Your kind cordial friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

"*Philadelphia, the 16th. of the Sixth month, called Auguſt, 1683.*"

* Nicholas Moore.

CHAPTER VI.

The difficulty and diſpute between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, reſpecting the boundaries between their territories.—A proclamation of the latter.—William Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations.—Lord Baltimore's commiſſion to Colonel George Talbot, with a demand of the latter.—William Penn's anſwer to ſaid demand.—Incurſion from Maryland, attempting forcible entry.—Difficulty to reſtrain the Indians from ſtrong liquors.—Names of the members of Aſſembly in 1684.

WILLIAM PENN's endeavours, ſoon after his firſt arrival, to cultivate a friendly and good underſtanding with his neighbour, the Lord *Baltimore*, and to get the boundaries, between their reſpective provinces, amicably determined, have already been mentioned; for which purpoſe likewiſe it appears he had appointed his relation and deputy, Captain *William Markham* to treat with the ſaid Lord Proprietary of *Maryland*, before he arrived himſelf; and afterwards repeatedly uſed attempts, for the ſame end. But theſe endeavours had not all the deſired ſucceſs, which, ſo far as appears, might have been reaſonably expected.* 1683.

The two Proprietors of Maryland and Pennſylvania diſagree about the boundaries, &c.

See page 208, &c.

* The conduct of the late Lord *Baltimore*, on this occaſion, may, in part, appear from the following proclamation, dated, May 15th. 1683, *viz.*

" *C. Baltimore.*

" For as much as taking up of land by rights, within this our province of *Maryland*, hath proved not only grievous and burdenſome to the inhabitants of this our ſaid province, as well for want of ſuch rights, upon their occaſions, as for the paying for the ſame extravagant and extortious

1683. The concern of the Proprietary of *Pennſylvania* for a good, convenient and independant communication, by water, between his province and the ſea, for the benefit of its trade, appears to have been his principal reaſon for fixing his ſouthern boundary by charter, ſo far ſouth, as the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, intending thereby to include, at leaſt, ſo much of the head, or upper part, of *Cheſapeak* bay, within his

Of the diſpute between Penn and Baltimore, &c.

tortious rates, when to be procured; but alſo very injurious and prejudicial to ourſelf, by undue and unjuſt probate, made of ſuch rights, as we have ſeen and been informed: We do, therefore, as well for the eaſe, benefit, and certainty of the inhabitants of this our province, and other perſons inhabiting, trading, or reſiding within the ſame, as alſo for the preſervation of our own juſt right and property, hereby fully reſolve, determine and ordain, that no right ſhall hereafter be proved, admitted, or allowed of, for the taking up of land, within our ſaid province, as formerly, by the conditions of plantation of our late father *Cecilius*, of noble memory, hath been accuſtomed; but, for the encouragement of any perſon, or perſons, adventurer or adventurers, or others, inhabiting, reſiding, or trading within this province, we do reſolve, determine and ordain, and hereby declare, publiſh and make known, that any perſon, or perſons, adventuring, trading, inhabiting, or reſiding within this our province, and willing to take up any land here, ſhall, for every fifty acres of land, he, or they ſhall deſign to take up, as aforeſaid, pay, or cauſe to be paid, to us, or our heirs, the juſt quantity of one hundred pounds of tobacco, in caſk, together with two ſhillings ſterling yearly rent; unleſs on the ſea-board ſide, or the *Whorekills*; for every fifty acres whereof, any perſon, or perſons, taking up ſuch land, ſhall only pay for the ſame, as aforeſaid, *the ſum of fifty pounds of tobacco, in caſk, together with one ſhilling ſterling, yearly rent;* and ſo proportionably for any greater, or leſſer quantity; he, or they, firſt applying themſelves to our ſecretaries of this our province, or other officer, or officers, thereunto appointed, and giving good and ſufficient caution for the ſame, as to him, or them, ſhall ſeem meet: hereby willing and requiring our ſaid ſecretaries, or other officer, or officers, as aforeſaid, upon ſuch caution, or ſecurity, given, to iſſue out warrants under the leſſer ſeal of this province, for any quantity of land, to any perſon, or perſons, ſuitor, or ſuitors, for the ſame, in manner aforeſaid: and, to the end that this our will and pleaſure may be made known, we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all and ſingular the Sheriffs of this our province forthwith, upon receipt hereof, to make public proclamation hereof, in the moſt public and convenient place, within their ſeveral and reſpective counties.

"*Given at our city of* St. Mary's, *under the great ſeal of this our province, the* 15*th. day of May, in the eighth year of our dominion, &c. Annoque Domini one thouſand ſix hundred eighty and three.*

"*Vera Copia,*

"WILLIAM SMITHSON,
"*Sher. count. Dorcat.*

"*To the Sheriff of Dorcheſter county, or his Deputy—Theſe.*"

his province, as would furniſh, from thence, a good, open and ſufficient communication to the ocean, as well as by the *Delaware*. The nature and ſtate of the controverſy, about this time, between the two Proprietaries, on this ſubject, more fully appear from the following letter of *William Penn* to the Lords of the committee of plantations, in *London;* to which board the Lord *Baltimore* ſeems to have been beforehand with him, *viz.* 1683.

" *Philadelphia, the 14th. of the Sixth-month,* 1683.

W. Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations, &c.

" THOUGH it be a duty, I humbly own, to inform the Lords of the committee of plantations, of what concerns his majeſty's intereſt in the ſucceſs of this province, I thought myſelf equally obliged to be diſcreet and cautious in doing it. To write, then, there was need, and not to trouble perſons, of their honor and buſineſs, with things trivial, at leaſt, raw and unfiniſhed for their view. This hitherto put me by giving any account of the ſtate of our affairs, to ſay nothing of the mighty difficulties, I have laboured under, in the ſettlement of ſix-and-twenty ſail of people, to content, within the ſpace of one year; which makes my caſe ſingular, and excuſable, above any other of the King's plantations.

" But becauſe my agent has informed me that the Proprietor of *Maryland* has been early in his account of our conference about fixing our bounds, and made a narrative of my affairs, as well before, as at that time, a little to my diſadvantage, and the rather, becauſe my ſilence might be interpreted neglect, I am neceſſitated to make ſome defence for myſelf; which, as it will not be hard to make, ſo I hope it will be received as juſt.

" I humbly ſay, then, firſt, that it ſeemed to me improper to trouble the Lords with my tranſactions with this Proprietor, till we were come to ſome reſult; which we were not: for we parted till ſpring; and even then were but to meet about the methods of our proceedings.

1683. W. Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations, &c.

"Next, This narrative was taken by the Lord's orders, without my conſent, or knowledge, in a corner of a room by one of his own attendants.

"And, laſtly, upon when notice was given of this uſage, I complained to him, he promiſed, upon his word and honor, it ſhould go not farther; and that it was for his own ſatisfaction he did it; I told him that mitigated the thing a little; but if he ſhould divulge it before I ſaw and agreed to the copy, he muſt pardon me, if I looked upon it as a moſt unfair practice.—What that Lord has done, and what to call it, I leave to my betters; but the ſurprize and indigeſtion of the whole will, I hope excuſe me of neglect, or diſreſpect: for though I am unceremonious, I would, by no means, act the rude, or undutiful.

"This ſaid, I humbly beg that I may give a brief narrative of the matter, as it then paſſed, ſince has been, and now ſtands, without the weakneſs and tautology his relation makes me guilty of.

Time of W. Penn's arrival, &c.

"So ſoon as I arrived, which was on the 24th. of October laſt, I immediately diſpatched two perſons to the Lord *Baltimore*, to aſk of his health, offer kind neighbourhood, and agree a time of meeting the better to eſtabliſh it: While they were gone of this errand, I went to *New-York*, that I might pay my duty to the Duke, in the viſit of his government and colony. At my return, which was towards the end of November, I found the meſſengers, whom I had ſent to *Maryland*, newly arrived, and the time fixed, being the 19th. of December. I prepared myſelf in a few days for that province. The 11th. of the month I came to weſt river; where I met the Proprietor, attended ſuitable to his character; who took the occaſion, by his civilities, to ſhew me the greatneſs of his power: The next day we had conference about our buſineſs of the bounds, both at the ſame table, with our reſpective members of council.

"The first thing I did was to present the King's letter; which consisted of two parts:—One, that the Lord *Baltimore* had but two degrees; and the other, that, beginning at *Watkins's* point, he should admeasure his said degrees, at 60 miles to a degree. This being read by him, first privately, then publicly, he told me, the King was greatly mistaken, and that he would not leave his patent, to follow the King's letter, nor could a letter void his patent; and by that he would stand. 1683. W. Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations, &c.

"This was the substance of what he said from first to last, during the whole conference. To this I answered, the King might be misinformed rather than mistaken, and that I was afraid the mistake would fall on his side; for though his patent begins at *Watkins's* point and goes to the fortieth degree of north latitude, yet it presumed that to lye in the 38th. else *Virginia* would be wronged, which should extend to that degree; however this I assured him, that when I petitioned the King for five degrees north latitude and that petition was referred to the Lords of the committee of plantations; at that time, it was urged by some present, that the Lord *Baltimore* had but two degrees; upon which the Lord President, turning his head to me, at whose chair I stood, said, Mr. *Penn*, *will not three degrees serve your turn?* I answered, "*I submit both the what, and how, to the honourable board.*"

"To this his uncle, and chancellor, returned, that to convince me his father's grant was not by degrees, he had more of *Virginia* given him, but being planted, and the grant intending only land not planted, or possessed, but of savage natives, he left it out, that it might not forfeit the rest: Of which the Lord *Baltimore* takes no notice, in his narrative, that I remember.—But, by that answer, he can pretend nothing to *Delaware;* which was at, and before, the passing of that patent,

1683. tent, bought and planted by the *Dutch;* and ſo could not be given:—But, if it were, it was forfeited, for not reducing it, during twenty years, under the *Engliſh* ſovereignty; of which he held it; but was at laſt reduced by the King, and therefore his, to give as he pleaſeth.

W. Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations, &c.

" Perceiving that my preſſing the King's letter was uneaſy, and that I had determined myſelf to diſpoſe him with utmoſt ſoftneſs to a good compliance, I waved that of the two degrees, and preſſed the admeaſurement only, the next part of the letter:—For though it were two degrees and a half from *Watkins's* point to forty degrees, yet let it be meaſured at ſixty miles to a degree, and I would begin at forty degrees, fall as it would:—My deſign was, that every degree being ſeventy miles, I ſhould get all that was over ſixty, the proportion intended the Lord *Baltimore*, by the grant, and computation of a degree, at that time of the day:—Thus he had enjoyed the full favour intended him, and I had gained a door of great importance to the peopling and improving of his majeſty's province.

" But he this alſo rejected;—I told him, it was not the love, or need, of the land, but the water; that he abounded in what I wanted, and acceſs and harbouring, even, to exceſs; that I would not be thus importunate, but for the importance of the thing, to ſave a province; and becauſe there was no proportion in the concern; if I were an hundred times more urgent and tenacious, the caſe would excuſe it; becauſe the thing inſiſted on was more than ninety-nine times more valuable to me than to him; to me the head, to him, the tail.—I added, that, if it were his, and he gave it me, planting it would recompence the favours, not only by laying his country between two thriving provinces, but the ſhips, that come yearly to *Maryland* for *tobacco*, would have the bringing of both

both our people and merchandize; becauſe they can afford it cheaper; whereby *Maryland* would, for one age or two be the mart of trade. But this alſo had no other entertainment, but hopes that I would not inſiſt on theſe things at our next meeting; after three days time we parted; and I returned to this province. 1683. W. Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations, &c.

"When the ſpring came I ſent an expreſs to pray the time and place, when and where I ſhould meet him, to effect the buſineſs, we adjourned to, at that time. I followed cloſe upon the meſſenger, that no time might be loſt. But the expectation, he twice had, of the Lord *Culpepper's* viſit, diſappointed any meeting on our affairs, till the month called May; he then ſent three gentlemen to let me know, he would meet me at the head of the bay of *Cheſapeak*; I was then in treaty with the kings of the natives for land; but three days after we met ten miles from *New-caſtle*, which is thirty from the bay. I invited him to the town, where having entertained him, as well as the town could afford, on ſo little notice, and finding him only deſirous of ſpeaking with me privately, I preſſed that we might, at our diſtinct lodgings, ſit ſeverally with our councils, and treat by way of written memorials; which would prevent the miſtakes, or abuſes, that may follow from ill deſigns, or ill memory; but he avoided it, ſaying, "He was not well, and the weather ſultry, and would return with what ſpeed he could, reſerving any other treaty to another ſeaſon."—Thus we parted, at that time. I had been before told by divers, that the ſaid *Baltimore* had iſſued forth a proclamation,* to invite people, by lower prices, and greater quantities of land, to plant in the lower counties; in which the Duke's goodneſs had intereſted me, as an inſeparable benefit to this whole province. I was not willing to believe it; and the being in haſte, I omitted to aſk him: But I had not been long

* See the note in page 265, &c.

1683. long returned before two letters came from two judges of two of the country courts, that ſuch a proclamation was abroad, that the people too hearken to it, but yet prayed my directions. I bade them keep their ground, and not fear, for the King would be judge. Upon this I diſpatched to the Lord *Baltimore* three of my council, with the clerk of it: As they went they got an authentic copy, under the hand of one of his ſheriffs, to whom an original had been directed: But, as the laſt civility, I would yield him, I forbad them to ſeem to believe any thing, but what they had from his own mouth.—Thus they delivered my letter.

W. Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations, &c.

" At firſt, he denied any ſuch proclamation, turning to two gentlemen of his council, who ſtood by, he aſked them, if they remembered any ſuch thing? They alſo denied it. Upon which the perſons, I ſent, produced the atteſted copy; which, refreſhing their memories, they confeſſed there was ſuch a proclamation.

" But the Lord *Baltimore* told them, that it was his ancient form, and he only did it to renew his claim, not that he would encourage any to plant there. They then prayed him to call it in, leſt any trouble ſhould enſue: but he refuſed it.—This was during a civil treaty, without any demand made, and after the place had been many years in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Duke.—What to call this I ſtill humbly refer to my ſuperiors. For his pretenſions to thoſe parts I have thoroughly inſtructed my agent; who, I hope, will be able to detect them of weakneſs and inconſiſtency. This is a true, though brief, narrative of the entertainment, I have had from that Lord, in the buſineſs between us.

" And becauſe I have, as in duty joined, ſent an agent extraordinary, to wait upon the King, and his miniſters, in the affairs of this province (ſo ſoon as I could make any ſettlement in it) I ſhall only humbly

humbly pray leave to hint at two or three things, relating to the buſineſs depending between this lord and myſelf, about finding the fortieth degree of north latitude. 1683.

W. Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations &c.

I. "That I have common fame on my ſide, grounded upon ancient and conſtant judges, that the fortieth degree of north latitude lyeth about *Boles's-iſle*. This the Lord *Baltimore* himſelf, hath not denied; and the country confeſſeth; and I ſhall, when required, prove by ſome able maſters of ſhips.

II. "If this were an error, it is grounded upon ſuch ſkill and inſtruments, as gave meaſure to the time, in which his patent was granted:—and if he hath got upon *Virginia* by that error, he ſhould not get upon me by an exacter knowledge, conſidering that *Carolina*, which endeth by degrees, would as much advance upon *Virginia*, if the reputed latitude of unprejudiced times ſhould take no place;—for by advancing her bounds twenty miles, by a new inſtrument, beyond the place; which hath been generally taken for thirty-ſix and an half degrees; and *Virginia* not being equally able to advance upon *Maryland*, becauſe of its being at a place certain, ſhe will be greatly narrowed between both.

III. "I, therefore, moſt humbly pray, that the judgment of ancient times, by which perſons at the diſtance of *England* from *America*, have governed themſelves, may conclude that the lord's bounds, or, that he may meaſure his two degrees according to the ſcale and computations of thoſe times, which was ſixty miles to a degree; or, if it be allowed, that he had not his grant by degrees, that, at laſt, I might not loſe the benefit of admeaſurement, as before mentioned, from *Watkins's-point*, in whatever degree of latitude that ſhall be found, to the fortieth degree of north latitude, which I humbly take the more courage to preſs, becauſe a province lyeth at ſtake, in the ſucceſs of it.

1683. W. Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations, &c.

"I have only humbly to add, that the province hath a prospect of an extraordinary improvement, as well by divers sorts of strangers, as *English* subjects; that, in all acts of justice, we name and venerate the King's authority; that I have followed the Bishop of *London's* counsel, by buying, and not taking away the natives' land; with whom I have settled a very kind correspondence. I return my most humble thanks for your former favors, in the passing of my patent, and pray God reward you. I am most ready to obey all your commands, according to the obligations of them, and beseech you to take this province into your protection, under his Majesty, and him, whom his goodness hath made Governor of it, into your favours, for that I am, with most sincere devotion,

Noble Lords,

Your thankful faithful, friend and servant, to my power,

WILLIAM PENN.

The nature and state of this controversy, about this time, further appear, by the following papers, *viz.*

Lord Baltimore's commission to col. G. Talbot, &c.

"Charles *Lord* Baltimore, *absolute Lord and Proprietary of the province of* Maryland *and* Avalon, &c.

"To our dear cousin and counsellor, Colonel *George Talbot*, Esquire.

(L. S.)

"REPOSING special confidence in your wisdom and integrity, I hereby nominate and appoint and impower you to repair forthwith to the *Skulkil* at *Delaware;* and, in my name, to demand of *William Penn*, Esquire, or of his deputy, all that part of the land, on the west side of the said river, that lyeth to the southward of the fortieth degree, northern latitude, according to an east line, run out from two observations, the one taken the 10th.

of

of June, 1682, and the other, the 27th. of September, 1682, in obedience to his majesty's commands, expressed in a letter of the 2d. of April 1681; which commands were, at that time, rejected by the agents of the said *Penn* (notwithstanding that by several letters and writings under their hands it may appear they promised a compliance with his majesty's commands aforesaid) and for which you shall do herein, this shall be to you a sufficient power.—Given under my hand and seal, the 17th. day of September, anno 1683." 1683.

"C. BALTIMORE.

"*Vera copia attesta per me*,
George Talbot."

"By virtue of his lordship's commission, whereof the above is a true copy, I, *George Talbot*, do, in the name of the right honourable *Charles* Lord *Baltimore*, absolute Lord and Proprietary of *Maryland* and *Avalon*, *demand* of you *Nicholas Moore*, deputy to *William Penn*, Esquire, all the land lying on the west side of *Delaware* river, and to the southward of the fortieth degree of northerly latitude, according to a line run east, from two observations, the one taken the 10th. of June, 1682, and the other on the 27th. of September, 1682, in obedience to his majesty's commands, expressed in a letter, the 2d. of April, 1681; which commands were at that time rejected by the said *William Penn's* agents, notwithstanding that by several letters and other writings, under their hands, it appears that they promised compliance to his majesty's commands aforesaid.—The land so claimed by me for the Lord *Baltimore's* use, being part of the said province of *Maryland*, granted to his lordship's father by King *Charles* the first, of sacred memory, and now wrongfully detained by the said *William Penn*, from his lordship. And, in witness, that I make this demand, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 24th. day of September, 1683." Talbot's demand.

"GEORGE TALBOT." (L. S.)

1683. *William Penn*, being at *New-York*, at the time of this demand, after his return, made the following anſwer, *viz.*

W. Penn at New York at this time.

An anſwer to a demand, *made to* Nicholas Moore, *as my deputy, by Colonel* George Talbot, *the 24th. of September*, 1683, *in purſuance of a* commiſſion, *from the Lord* Baltimore, *Proprietary of* Maryland *and* Avalon, *dated the 17th. of the ſame month.*

W. Penn's anſwer to the Lord Baltimore's demand.

" The demand being grounded upon the *commiſſion*, I will take things in their order, and begin with the commiſſion.

" The Lord *Baltimore* doth commiſſionate Colonel *Talbot* to go to the weſt ſide of the *Skulkil* to demand of *William Penn*, Eſquire, or his deputy, all that part of land on the weſt ſide of that river, that lyeth to the ſouth of the fortieth degree of northerly latitude.

I. " I anſwer, it ſeems very ſlight, abrupt and unprecedented for any perſon, that is in the quality of a Proprietary of a country, to ſend to another in the ſame circumſtance, any extraordinary meſſenger, agent, or commiſſioner, without ſome letter, or memorial, to ſtate the *demand*, with the reaſons of it; the practice of the greateſt princes, and might therefore (I conceive) be the condeſcenſion of leſſer ſeigniories.

II. " In the next place, *William Penn*, Eſquire, and the ſaid *Penn*, (the language of the commiſſion) is not my *American* ſtyle, nor that which belongs to me, in the matter in queſtion; for, as ſuch, I keep no deputies.

III. " I live not on the weſt ſide of *Skulkil*, nor any deputy of mine; and I conceive Colonel *Talbot* could not, by that commiſſion, come to the eaſt ſide, to make his demand; which yet he did.

IV. " I was abſent, and at *New-York*, when this commiſſioner came; and I never did, nor never will, commiſſion any deputy to treat and conclude away my inheritance, without my particular di-

rection and command; though, if I were to go for *England*, I would not disown the laws, he should make in my absence, for public good, when I came back. 1683.

W. Penn's answer to the Lord Baltimore's demand.

V. "Colonel *Talbot* is directed, in the commission, to make the demand, according to a line, said to be run, in obedience to his majesty's command, in his letter of the 2d. of April, 1681; but I say, that no line is yet run, in obedience to his majesty's command;—for the letter expressly saith, that the Lord *Baltimore*, or his agent, shall, together with my agent, agree to the latitude, and then run the line, and bound the provinces accordingly; which is not yet done: For those observations, and the line run by them, are performed by the Lord *Baltimore*, and his agents only, and therefore not according to his majesty's command, in his letter of the 2d. of April, 1681, nor, in my opinion, common equity; for I knew nothing of them.

VI. "To say (as his commission doth) that my commissioners refused to comply with the said letter, is hard for me to do; since the chiefest of them brought it in my favour. But the truth is, (if they say true, and circumstances favour them) the thing is improbable; for the Lord *Baltimore* would have had them agreed to have taken an observation upon the river *Delaware*, when as the King's letter (stating my bounds, as they are expressed in my patent) begins twelve miles above *New-castle*, upon the west side of *Delaware* river, and so to run to the 43d. degree of north latitude, upon the said river; which makes it impossible, that the Lord *Baltimore* could come within those limits to take an observation, or run a line, in pursuance of his majesty's commands, in the said letter; since taking an observation on *Delaware* river (which, say they, he pressed) is a plain violation of it. They further say, that they never refused, but pressed the taking of an observation, according

1683. according to his majesty's letter; which is grounded on the bounds of my patent; and when the Lord *Baltimore* and my agent had agreed to meet at *New-castle*, and to proceed according to his majesty's letter, 'tis true that my agent came not, and as true, saith he, that the reason was the Lord *Baltimore* called immediately at *Chichester*, alias, *Marcus Hooks*, as he went to *New-castle*, and forbad the inhabitants to pay me *Quit-rent*, and named the place by a new name, before any line was run, or any observation agreed; which being a declared breach of the King's commands, and their treaty, in the opinion of my agent, he refused to meet the next day about a matter, the Lord *Baltimore* had, in such a manner, already determined.

W. Penn's answer to the Lord Baltimore's demand.

VII. "But what fault soever they were in, sure I am, that, before an observation was agreed, or any line was run, I came in, and suddenly after waited upon the Lord *Baltimore*. I presented him with another letter from his majesty; which he was so far from complying with, that he looked upon the King, as mistaken, and set his patent in direct opposition; and to this day would never hear of complying with it, in either of the two points it related to; that is to say, his having but two degrees, and that beginning them at *Watkins's* point, he should admeasure them, at sixty miles to a degree, to terminate the north bounds of his province. Now, in my opinion, it was not proper to ground his proceedings upon a former letter, in neglect of a later advice and command from his majesty: Nor doth it look very just to make the caution, or neglect of an agent, in the absence of his principal, a reason to proceed against his principal, when present with other instructions, without due regard had to him, or his allegations. And I must say, that, at *New-castle*, when I pressed the Lord *Baltimore* to sit in one house with his Council,

Council, and I would ſit with mine in another, that we might treat by written memorials under our hands, to prevent miſtakes, ill memory, or ill will, he refuſed, alledging, he was not well; I did then tell him, I would wave what force or advantage I thought I had by the ſecond letter, and proceed to meet him at the place he deſired, which was the head of *Cheſapeak* bay, and there try to find the fortieth degree of north latitude, provided he would firſt pleaſe to ſet me a gentlemanly price; ſo much per mile, in caſe I ſhould have no part of the bay by latitude; that ſo I might have a back port to this province. This I writ, according to his deſire, and ſent after him, to ſell he refuſed, but ſtarted an exchange of part of that bay for the lower counties, on the bay of *Delaware*. This, I preſume, he knew I could not do; for his *Royal Highneſs* had the one half; and I did not prize the thing, I deſired, at ſuch a rate. Soon after this meeting, I underſtood that he had iſſued forth a proclamation ſome time before, to invite people to plant thoſe parts in my poſſeſſion, under his *Royal Highneſs;* and that alſo before any demand had been made, or our friendly treaty ended; which I took ſo ill, in right of his *Royal Highneſs*, and that which his goodneſs had made mine, that I ſent commiſſioners (firſt to know the truth of it from his own mouth, before I would credit the intelligence, I had received, and, if true) to complain of the breach of our friendly treaty, and that it might be repaired; which he hath taken ſo ill (how deſervedly let the whole world judge) that he hath ſent me letters of a very coarſe ſtyle; ſuch, as indeed, could not be anſwered without thoſe terms, which unbecome men in our public ſtations; who, in the midſt of all diſagreements, ought to manage themſelves with coolneſs and exact civility; and, if, in this, I have, at any time, been ſhort, let me but know it, and I, that think it a meanneſs of ſpirit to juſtify an error, when

1683.

W. Penn's anſwer to the Lord Baltimore's demand.

1683. when committed, am not too ſtiff to aſk him pardon. Here I left him, expecting his news when he came to the head of the bay, in September, as I thought he promiſed me; but inſtead of that, an obſervation is taken, a line run, and trees marked, without my notice, and a demand made thereupon, and all grounded on his majeſty's letter of the 2d. of April 1681; in which I muſt again ſay, I find no ſuch direction, which bringeth me to the demand itſelf.

W. Penn's anſwer to the Lord Baltimore's demand.

VIII. "To the *demand*, *viz.* Of all that land on *Delaware* river to the ſouth of the fortieth degree of north latitude, I have this to ſay, that 'tis very odd the demand ſhould be made ſeveral months after the proclamation was put forth, to encourage people to plant moſt of the parts demanded; but much more ſtrange, that, after the Lord *Baltimore* had declared under his hand, that he did not by that intend to break our amicable treaty, he ſhould, without further provocation given, proceed to demand thoſe parts! Certainly, this was not intended to continue our friendſhip; nor did it look with common decency, that Colonel *Talbot* ſhould not think me worth leaving a letter at my houſe, where he lodged, when he went away, as well as the land worth ſuch a demand. But, indeed, his carriage all along ſhews, he came to defie me, not treat me, like either a neighbour, or gentleman. A ſudden change amuſing the King's people, under my charge, by threats, or drawing them off their obedience, by degrading mine; and invitations to the Lord *Baltimore's* government. This I found at my return, in his conduct (though not in his commiſſion) as ſome of the people do aver.

IX. "But, in the next place, the Lord *Baltimore* hath no warrant to run his line to the river of *Delaware*, neither by the King's letter, nor his own patent, if he peruſeth them well, where he will find the *bay*, but not the *river*, of *Delaware*.

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W. Penn's answer to the Lord Baltimore's demand.

X. "The land demanded is not a part of the province of *Maryland*, as is expreſſed in the demand; for it is in the juriſdiction of *Delaware*, (alias, *Newcaſtle*) which is by ſeveral acts of the Aſſembly of *Maryland*, diſtinguiſhed and diſowned from being any part of that province.

XI. "The Lord *Baltimore* hath no land given him by patent, but what was unplanted of any but ſavage nations; and this weſt ſide of the river *Delaware*, before, and at, the paſſing of his patent, was actually bought and poſſeſſed by a civil and chriſtian people, in amity with the crown of *England;* and by the treaty of peace in 1653, between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, it was part of one article of the treaty, that the *Dutch* ſhould enjoy thoſe territories, in *America*, of which this was a member; and we do know, foreign actions of that time and kind continued firm after his majeſty's reſtoration; for *Jamaica* ſtill remains to us; and *Dunkirk* itſelf was not rendered, but ſold.—To be ſhort, I conceive, it is more for the Lord *Baltimore's* honour and ſafety, that it ſhould be ſo, as I ſay, than otherwiſe:—For, if he claimeth what was poſſeſſed of the *Dutch*, on *Delaware* river, ſouth of the fortieth degree of north latitude, as what was lawfully under the *Engliſh* ſovereignty, how cometh he to ſuffer part of his province to remain under a ſtrange and foreign ſovereignty to that, under which he held his claim?

XII. "But, if the Lord *Baltimore* had a juſt pretence to this river, and former poſſeſſion too, which he never had, yet being by the *Dutch* taken, and by the King taken from the *Dutch*, it becomes the conqueror's:—For, it is known, that, if any of our *Engliſh* merchants ſhips be taken, and poſſeſſed but twenty-four hours, by an enemy, if retaken by the crown, they are prize; and this place was more than twenty-four years in the hands of the

1683. the *Dutch*.* This made his *Royal Highneſs* take out freſh patents, upon the opinion of Council (ſince the laſt conqueſt) for his territories, in *America*. Nor is the Lord *Baltimore* in the condition of an ordinary ſubject; (in whoſe favour ſomething might be alledged) for he hath *regalia*, *principality*, though ſubordinate to the King, as his ſtyle ſhews; and I conceive he is bound to keep his own dominions, or elſe loſe them; and if loſt to a foreigner, and taken by the ſovereign, the ſovereign hath the right; another conqueror could plead. This is the preſent *jus gentium*, and law of nations; which in foreign acqueſts prevaileth; and the King, accordingly has granted it, under his great ſeal of *England*, to his *Royal Highneſs*. And, if there were no truth in this, but the Lord *Baltimore's* patent were title good enough for what was actually another's before, and which he never enjoyed ſince, *Connecticut* colony might put in for *New-York*, as reaſonably as the Lord *Baltimore* can for *Delaware*, their patent having that part of the *Dutch* territories within its bounds, on the ſame miſtake.†

W. Penn's anſwer to the Lord Baltimore's demand.

XIII. "I ſhall conclude with this, that the King, by articles of peace, between him and the ſtates of *Holland*, is the allowed owner of all that territory, in *America*, once called *New Netherland*; of which this is a part. He hath been graciouſly pleaſed to grant it by two patents, and this, in controverſy, by one, under the great ſeal of *England*, to his deareſt brother, *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, &c. And his *Royal Highneſs*, out

* In the original is the following note in the margin, *viz.*

——"And not demanded of them; and the *Swedes* and *Fins*, that ſettled on Chriſteen-creek; which is about four miles from *New Caſtle*, and where they have been about years, never heard of a demand, that was ever made to them, by the lord Baltimore's father, nor himſelf; as the old men among them do declare."

† (Note in the margin.) "Which is yet out of diſpute from the lord *Baltimore's* own patent, that ſaith, *New England* begins where he ceaſeth; which being at 40 degrees, north latitude, it follows that *New York*, and part of *Eaſt* and *Weſt Jerſey* and *Pennſylvania* will fall to *New England*."

out of his princely goodneſs, and ſingular regard, he was pleaſed to have, to the ſervices and loſſes of my deceaſed father, hath intereſted me in part of the ſame; ſo that he is lord, (and I am tenant) of him I hold, and to him I pay my rent; and for him I improve, as well as myſelf; and, therefore, I muſt take leave to refer the Lord *Baltimore* to his *Royal Highneſs;* who is a prince, doubtleſs, of too much honour, to keep any man's right, and of too great reſolution, to deliver up his own; whoſe example I am reſolved to follow."

1683.

W. Penn's anſwer to the Lord Baltimore's demand.

"*Philadelphia, 4th. of October,* 1683."

Such appears to have been the ſtate of this controverſy, at this time. The year 1684 commenced with an incurſion of a party of people from *Maryland*, making forceable entry on ſeveral plantations in the *lower counties:* upon which the Governor and Council, at *Philadelphia*, ſent a copy of the preceding anſwer to the Lord *Baltimore's* demand, with orders to *William Welch*, to uſe his influence, for reinſtating the perſons, who had been diſpoſſeſſed; and, in caſe mild meaſures would not do, he was directed legally to proſecute the invaders: but the former method appears, at preſent, to have anſwered the intention; for no more of this kind of conduct was heard of till the next month; when ſome of the inhabitants were afreſh threatened with the ſame outrages, in caſe of their refuſal to be under the Lord *Baltimore*. The government iſſued a declaration, ſhewing *William Penn's* title, and ſuch other requiſites as were thought moſt likely to prevent ſuch illegal proceedings in future.*

1684.

Incurſion from Maryland, &c.

It

* In this month the Council received a letter from *Samuel Sands*, purporting: "That col. George Talbot, with three muſqueteers, went to the houſes of the widow *Ogle*, *Jonas Erſkin*, and *Andreas Tittle*, telling them, that if they would not forthwith yield obedience to the lord *Baltimore*, and own him to be their proprietor, and pay rent to him, he would turn them out of their houſes, and take their land from them," &c.

1684. It is likewiſe obſervable, about this time, that the methods then uſed, and the law, which had been made, to prevent ſtrong liquors from being ſold to the *Indians*, did not fully anſwer the intention; for theſe people, notwithſtanding, through ſome mean and unprincipled perſons among the *European* ſettlers, in a clandeſtine manner, ſtill procured them. The Governor, therefore, ſeeing the great difficulty, if not the abſolute impoſſibility, of debarring them from theſe liquors, called a number of them together, and propoſed, that, on condition they would be content to be puniſhed, as the *Engliſh* were, in conſequence of drunkenneſs, they ſhould not be hindered from the uſe of them? This they readily agreed to; and would, probably, have been willing to endure much greater puniſhment, on theſe terms; ſo great is their love of ſtrong liquors! The beſt methods, that prudence could dictate, had been uſed, as it was thought, and much advice given them to inculcate an abhorrence of the vice of drunkenneſs, but too generally without that effect, which was deſired; their appetite having ſo much the prevalency over their reaſon, and their ſenſual deſires, above their better underſtanding, that, while they ſaw and acknowledged the means uſed for their real intereſt, in this affair, to be good, they lived in the continued violation of them!

The Indians ſtill get ſtrong liquors from ſome of the ſettlers, &c.

Great difficulty of reſtraining the Indians from ſtrong liquors.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

The Proprietary obliged to return to England.—Commiſſionates the Provincial Council to act in his abſence, &c.—His commiſſion to the Judges, &c.—William Penn's valedictory letter to his friends in Pennſylvania from on board the ſhip, at his departure.—Oldmixon's account.—Thomas Langhorne. Death of Charles the IId. and ſucceſſion of James the IId. to the crown of England, with William Penn's intereſt and ſervice at court.—Extract of a letter from the Proprietary on the ſubject, &c.—Names of the members of Aſſembly in 1685.—*The diſpute between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, reſpecting the boundary of the territories decided, &c.—Boundary lines between the counties of the province aſcertained.—Proceedings of the Aſſembly againſt N. Moore, J. Bridges and P. Robinſon.—Letter of the Proprietary to the magiſtrates, reſpecting ſome abuſes.—Aſſembly's letter to the Proprietary reſpecting N. Moore, &c. William Penn in Holland and Germany.—Extracts from his letters.—The province needs his preſence. Means uſed to inſtruct the Indians, and to reſtrain them from ſtrong liquors, &c.*

WILLIAM PENN continued in *Pennſylvania* and ſometimes in the adjacent province of *New-Jerſey*, and other neighbouring places, till the beginning of the ſummer, this year, ſettling and eſtabliſhing the government, and aſſiſting his friends, the *Quakers*, in regulating the affairs and œconomy 1684.

1684. œconomy of their religious ſociety, in theſe parts; where, moſt probably, he would have reſided much longer, had not the diſpute, between him and the Lord *Baltimore*, before mentioned, and other important affairs, called him home, to *England*; where his enemies, taking the advantage of his abſence, threw his affairs there into a critical ſituation, and rendered his preſence abſolutely neceſſary, in that nation.

W. Penn neceſſitated to return to England.

Upon this he ſigned a *commiſſion*, empowering the *Provincial Council*, to act, in the government in his ſtead; of which *Thomas Lloyd* was preſident; who alſo had a commiſſion to keep the great ſeal.* *Nicholas Moore*, *William Welch*, *William Wood*, *Robert Turner* and *John Eckley* were commiſſioned to be Provincial Judges, for two years; their commiſſion was in theſe words, *viz.*

W. Penn commiſſionates the officers of government, &c.

Commiſſion to the judges.

"William Penn, *Proprietary and Governor of the Province of* Pennſylvania, *and territories thereunto belonging*,

"To my truſty and loving friends, *Nicholas Moore*, *William Welch*, *William Wood*, *Robert Turner* and *John Eckley*, *greeting:*

"Repoſing

Note.—3d. mo. 1684,—the Names of the Members of Aſſembly, were:

For Philadelphia.	*For Cheſter.*	*For Bucks.*
Nicholas Moore, *Speaker*,	Joſhua Haſtings,	William Beakes,
John Songhurſt,	Robert Wade,	John Clowes,
Francis Fincher,	John Blunſton,	Richard Hough,
Lacy Cock,	George Maris,	John Otter,
Joſeph Growden,	Thomas Uſher,	Edmond Bennet.
John Hart.	Henry Maddock.	
For Suſſex.	*For New-Caſtle.*	*For Kent.*
John Roads,	James Williams,	John Briggs,
Henry Bowman,	John Darby,	John Glover,
Hercules Shepherd,	William Grant,	John Curtis,
Samuel Gray,	Gaſparus Herman,	William Sherwood,
William Emmet,	Abraham Man,	James Wells,
Henry Stretcher.	John White.	William Berry.

* *Caleb Puſey*, who was long of the Council, and one of the firſt ſettlers, in his memoirs of the firſt ſettlement of *Pennſylvania*, in manuſcript, ſays,—"It may not be amiſs alſo to mention, that when the Governor left us, the firſt time, in the year 1684, he left his power of government in the hands of five Commiſſioners, of whom our worthy friend, *Thomas Lloyd*, was preſident; who afterwards was ſeveral years, Deputy Governor," &c. M. S.

"Repoſing ſpecial confidence in your juſtice, wiſdom and integrity, I do, by virtue of the King's authority, derived unto me, conſtitute you, *Provincial Judges*, for the province and territories, and any legal number of you, a provincial court of judicature, both fixt and circular, as is by law directed; giving you, and every of you, full power to act therein according to the ſame, ſtrictly charging you, and every of you, to do juſtice to all, and of all degrees, without delay, fear, or reward; and I do hereby require all perſons within the province and territories aforeſaid, to give you due obedience and reſpect, belonging to your ſtation, in the diſcharge of your duties: This commiſſion to be in force during two years, enſuing the date hereof; you, and every of you, behaving yourſelves well therein, and acting according to the ſame. 1684.

"*Given at* Philadelphia, *the 4th. of the Sixth month* 1684, *being the thirty-ſixth year of the King's reign, and the fourth of my government*,

"WILLIAM PENN."

Other officers appointed.

Thomas Lloyd, *James Claypoole** and *Robert Turner* were empowered to ſign patents, and grant warrants for lands; and *William Clark* had a general commiſſion, to be juſtice of the peace throughout the province and territories. Other Juſtices being likewiſe appointed, and all things ſettled in a promiſing and proſperous condition, the Proprietary, on the 12th. of the Sixth month, 1684, ſailed for *England*.†

The Proprietary ſails for England.

But,

* James Claypoole had been a merchant in London.

† *Oldmixon*, mentioned in the notes, page 244, ſays,

"This friendſhip and civility of the *Pennſylvanian Indians* are imputed to Mr. *Penn*, the Proprietor's extreme humanity and bounty to them; he having laid out ſome thouſands of pounds, to inſtruct, ſupport and oblige them. There are ten *Indian* nations within the limits of his province; and the number of ſouls of theſe barbarians is computed to about 6000.—The number of the inhabitants of *Swediſh*, or *Dutch*, extraction, may be about 3000 ſouls."—"Having made a league of amity with nineteen *Indian* nations, between them and all the *Engliſh* in *Ame-*

1684. But prior to his entirely leaving the country, he writ from on board the ſhip, in which he ſailed, the following moſt affectionate farewell, to be communicated to thoſe, whom he left behind; which, as a memorial of the father of this country, among many others, may, in part, ſhew to poſterity, his real concern for the true happineſs of the people, both in their temporal and ſpiritual capacity, and the proſperity of the country in every reſpect, *viz.*

He writes from on board the ſhip, &c.

" For *Tho. Lloyd*, *J. Claypoole*, *J. Simcock*, *Ch. Taylor* and *J. Harriſon*, to be communicated in meetings in *Pennſylvania*, *&c.* among friends:

" *Dear Friends*,

His valedictory letter, &c.

" MY love and my life is to you, and with you; and no water can quench it, nor diſtance wear it out, or, bring it to an end:—I have been with you, cared over you, and ſerved you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and near to me, beyond utterence. I bleſs you, in the name and power of the Lord; and my God bleſs you with his righteouſneſs, peace and plenty, all the land over. Oh, that you would eye him, in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands; and let it be your firſt care, how you may glorify God in your undertakings: for to a bleſſed end are you brought hither; and if you ſee and keep but in the ſenſe of that Providence, your coming, ſtaying and improving will be ſanctified; ☞ *but if any forget God, and call not upon his name, in truth, he will pour out his plagues upon them; and they ſhall know who it is, that judgeth the children of men.*

" Oh, now you are come to a quiet land, provoke not the Lord to trouble it: And now liberty and

rica; having eſtabliſhed good laws, and ſeen his capital ſo well inhabited, that there were then near 300 houſes, and 2500 ſouls in it, beſides twenty other townſhips, he returned to *England*, leaving *William Markham*, Eſquire, Secretary, Mr. *Thomas Holme*, Surveyor-General; and the adminiſtration in the hands of the Council, whoſe preſident was *Thomas Lloyd*, Eſquire, who, by virtue of his office, held the government ſeveral years," &c.

OLDMIXON.

and authority are with you, and in your hands, let the government be upon his ſhoulders, in all your ſpirits; that you may rule for him, under whom the princes of this world will, one day, eſteem it their honor to govern and ſerve, in their places. I cannot but ſay, when theſe things come mightily upon my mind, as the Apoſtles did, of old, "*What manner of perſons ought we to be, in all godly converſation!*" Truly, the name and honour of the Lord are deeply concerned in you, as to the diſcharge of yourſelves, in your preſent ſtations; many eyes being upon you; and remember, that, as we have been belied about diſowning the true religion, ſo, of all government, to behold us exemplary and chriſtian, in the uſe of that, will not only ſtop our enemies, but miniſter conviction to many, on that account, prejudiced. Oh, that you may ſee and know that ſervice, and do it, for the Lord, in this your day:— 1684. W. Penn's valedictory letter.

"And, thou, *Philadelphia*, the virgin ſettlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what ſervice, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth, and preſerve thee from ſuch as would abuſe and defile thee!

"Oh, that thou mayſt be kept from the evil, that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteouſneſs, thou mayſt be preſerved to the end:—My ſoul prays to God for thee, that thou mayſt ſtand in the day of tryal, that thy children may be bleſſed of the Lord, and thy people ſaved by his power;—my love to thee has been great, and the remembrance He prays for Philadelphia, &c.

Note, In the year 1684, among other friends and ſettlers, from *Weſtmoreland*, *Thomas Langhorne* arrived in *Pennſylvania*, and ſettled in *Bucks* county, about *Middletown*; where then dwelt *Nicholas Waine* and others. He was an eminent preacher among the *Quakers*; and of whom there is a very excellent and extraordinary character, in M. S. from Friends at *Kendal* in *Weſtmoreland*, by way of certificate, on his removal to this country. He died a few years after his arrival.——His ſon, *Jeremiah Langhorne* was afterwards Chief Juſtice of the province.

1684. membrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye!—the God of eternal ſtrength keep and preſerve thee, to his glory and thy peace.

W. Penn's valedictory letter.

"So, dear friends, my love again ſalutes you all, wiſhing that grace, mercy and peace, with all temporal bleſſings, may abound richly among you;—ſo ſays, ſo prays, your friend and lover in the truth,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"*From on board the Ketch* Endeavour, *the Sixth* month, 1684."

Death of K. Charles the ſecond, &c.

In *England*, on the ſixth of the Twelfth month this year (1684) died King *Charles* the ſecond; and was ſucceeded by his brother, *James*, Duke of *York*, a profeſſed *Papiſt*.*—The people were there-

* The Proprietary in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, Preſident of the Council, dated, "*London* the 16th. of the Firſt month, 1684-5," writes thus on this affair, *viz.*

——"The King is dead; and the Duke ſucceeds peaceably. He was well on the Firſt-day night, being the firſt of February (ſo called;) about eight next morning, as he ſat down to ſhave, his head twitched both ways, or ſides; and he gave a ſhriek, and fell as dead; and ſo remained ſome hours; they opportunely blooded and cupped him, and plied his head with red-hot *frying-pans:*—He returned, and continued till Sixth-day noon; but moſtly in great tortures. He ſeemed very penitent, aſking pardon of all, even the pooreſt ſubject he had wronged; prayed for pardon, and to be delivered out of the world; The Duke appearing mighty humble and ſorrowful;—'twas a loſs, with his gain:—He was an able man for a divided and troubled kingdom.—The preſent King was proclaimed about three o'clock that day; a proclamation followed, with the King's ſpeech, to maintain the church and ſtate, as eſtabliſhed; to keep property and uſe clemency.—Tonnage and poundage, with the exciſe, are revived, *de bene eſſe*, till the parliament meet.—One is now chuſing;—The people of *Weſtminſter* juſt gone by, to chuſe.—It ſits the 19th. of the third month next. In *Scotland*, one next month.—Severities continue ſtill; but ſome eaſe to us faintly promiſed.—Be careful that no indecent ſpeeches paſs againſt the government; for the King going, with his Queen, publickly to *Maſs*, in *Whitehall*, gives occaſion.—He declared he concealed himſelf, to obey his brother, and that now he would be above board; which we like the better, on many accounts.—I was with him and told him ſo;—but withall, hoped *We* ſhould come in for a ſhare;—He ſmiled, and ſaid, he deſired not that peaceable people ſhould be diſturbed for their religion:—And till his coronation, the 23d. when he and his conſort are together, to be crowned, no hopes of releaſe; and till the Parliament no hopes of any fixt liberty.—My buſineſs, I would hope, is better.—The late King, the papiſts will have, died a *Roman Catholic;* for he refuſed (after his uſual way of evading uneaſy things, with unpreparedneſs firſt, and then weakneſs) the church of England's communion. Biſhop *Ken*, of *Wells*, preſſing him, that it

thereupon filled with great apprehenſions and fears, leſt, according to the uſual practice of thoſe religious devotees, who would compel all people under their power, to their own mode of religion, as in the perſecuting days of Queen Mary, he ſhould endeavour, by the ruin of the *Proteſtant*, 1684.

would be to his comfort, and that of his people, to ſee he died of that religion, he had made profeſſion of living; but it would not do:—and once all but the duke, Earl of *Bath*, and Lord *Feverſham*, were turned out, and one *Huddleſtone*, a *Romiſh Prieſt*, was ſeen about that time, near the chamber.—This is moſt of our news.—The popiſh lords and gentry go to *Whitehall*, to maſs, daily; and the *Tower*, (or *Royal Chapel*) is crammed (by vying) with the proteſtant lords and gentry:—The late King's children, even, by the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, go thither.—Our King ſtands more upon his terms, than the other, with *France*; and tho' he has not his brother's abilities, he has great diſcipline and induſtry.—Alas! the world is running over to you; and great quantities together is to put the ſale of lands out of my own hands, after I have ſpent what I got by my own, on the public ſervice: for I am £.3,000 worſe in my eſtate, than at firſt; I can ſay it before the Lord; I have only the comfort of having approved myſelf a faithful ſteward, to my underſtanding, and ability; *and yet, I hope, my children ſhall receive it, in the love of yours, when we are gone.*"

The reſt of this letter conſiſts principally of ſalutations to the people, in general, both of *Pennſylvania* and *New Jerſey*, and alſo to divers particulars, by name; with ſome inſtructions or directions of a more private nature;—but as the names of ſuch families as the Proprietary expreſſed this particular reſpect to, may, at this time, be acceptable to ſome, now to ſee, they here follow, as tranſcribed from his own hand, omitting the reſt, *viz.*

——"Dearly ſalute me to dear friends, in their meetings, and particularly to dear John Simcock, Chriſtopher Taylor, J. Harriſon, J. Claypoole, T. Janny, William Yardley, Thomas Braſby, William Wood, Thomas Ellis, J. Songhurſt, John Moon, J. Blunſton, Joſeph Growden, J. Head, G. Jones, G. Painter, H. Lewis, T. Howell, J. B. and the reſt of the Welſh Friends;—Captain Owen, &c.—Thomas Fitzwater, James Barnes, B. Wilcocks, J. Goodſon, Thomas Bowman, Widow Fincher, W. Salloway, J. Alloway, R. Wade, R. Turner, Samuel Carpenter, J. Southern, William Clark, with their families; and all friends on our ſide, and the other too (*viz.* Jerſey) particularly, J. Goſling, Anne Jennings, S. Budd, W. Biddle, S. Cooper, R. Stacy and Mahlon, T. Lambert, and widow Welſh.—Dr. Moore, J. C. A. Man, P. Aldricks, W. Gueſt, J. White, W. Durvall.—Salute me to the Swedes, Captain Cock, old Peter Cock, and Rambo, and their ſons, the Swanſons, Andrew Binkſon, P. Yoakum and the reſt of them:—Their ambaſſadour here dined with me the other day."—&c.

"Keep up the people's hearts and love," &c.—"I hope to be with them next fall, if the Lord prevent not;—I long to be with you; No temptations prevail to fix me here;—the Lord ſend us a good meeting, Amen."—&c.

Note, By a warrant to Preſident Lloyd and the Council, dated at *London*, the 18th. of the Firſt-month, 1684-5, William Penn authorized them to commiſſion his couſin, *William Markham*, to be ſecretary of the province and territories, and his ſecretary, as proprietary.

1684. *Proteſtant*, to eſtabliſh the *Popiſh*, power and hierarchy, in the nation. So that had the Proprietary of *Pennſylvania*, at this time, fomented the general uneaſineſs, by encouraging multitudes, then upon the wing, he, moſt probably might, as himſelf ſaid, "*Have put many more thouſands of people into his province, as well as pounds into his pocket than he did.*"*

Unſettledneſs in England, &c.

* See his letter to W. Popple, &c. hereafter.

W. Penn's diſintereſted conduct, in England, &c.

But the actions of *William Penn* appear to have had more noble and generous motives, than thoſe of private intereſt, or, of a party only; and from that friendſhip and intimacy, which he had had with the King, while Duke of *York*, he now employed his intereſt with him, not only for the relief of his ſuffering friends, the *Quakers* (who then had long filled the jails through the nation, on account of their religion) but alſo for the benefit of ſuch other perſons, as were in diſtreſs or difficulty, without diſtinction of ſect or party: beſides what might be proper, in his private and friendly capacity and communication, in adviſing the King both for his own real intereſt, and the good of the nation in general, however diſregarded, or neglected, by him, through a different conduct.

For his more convenient attendance, therefore, at court, and for the eaſier performance of theſe acts of humanity, friendſhip, charity, and general

In the Third month, 1685, Thomas Lloyd being Preſident of the Council, the names of the members of Aſſembly were:—

For Philadelphia.	*For Bucks.*	*For Cheſter.*
Nicholas Moore,	William Beaks,	John Blunſton,
Joſeph Growden,*	Gilbert Wheeler,	George Maris,
Barnaby Wilcox,	Henry Baker,	John Harding,
Lawrence Cock,	William Dark,	Thomas Uſher,
Gunner Rambo,	James Dilworth,	Francis Stanfield,
Thomas Paſchall.	Henry Paxon.	Joſhua Ferne.
For New Caſtle.	*For Kent.*	*For Suſſex.*
John White, *Speaker*,	John Bridges,	Henry Smith,
Gaſparus Herman,	John Curtis,	William Carter,
Hendrick Williams,	Daniel Jones,	Robert Cliſton,
Abraham Man,	Peter Groningdyke,	John Hill,
Edward Owen, junior,	William Berry,	Samuel Gray,
John Darby.	John Brinkloe,	Richard Law.

* Joſeph Growden came from Trevoſe in Cornwall.

ral ſervice to his country, as well as his own private concerns, in the year 1685, he fixed his reſidence near *Kenſington;* all which gave occaſion to the ignorant, the ſuſpicious, and his malicious enemies, to impute to him things, in which he was no way concerned, as a promoter of them; and, from that enmity, which many had ignorantly conceived againſt the religious profeſſion of the people called *Quakers*, and againſt him, on that account, to load him with many lies and reproaches, as may be ſeen in his printed life and works. 1685. He reſides near Kenſington, &c.

The Lord Baltimore's agent had, in the year 1683, petitioned King *Charles* the ſecond, that no freſh grant of the land, in the territories of *Pennſylvania* might paſs in favour of *William Penn*, till the ſaid Lord was heard, on his pretenſion of right thereto; which petition was referred to the Lords of the committee of trade and plantations: theſe after many attendances and divers hearings of both parties, made their report to King *James* the ſecond; who, in November, 1685, by an order of Council, determined the affair between them; by ordering a diviſion to be made of all that tract of land between *Delaware* and *Cheſapeak* bay, from the latitude of cape *Hinlopen*, to the ſouth boundary of *Pennſylvania*, into two equal parts; of which that ſhare on *Delaware* was aſſigned to the King; and that on *Cheſapeak*, to the Lord Baltimore.* The diſpute between W. Penn and Lord Baltimore, reſpecting the lower counties decided. The boundaries determined.

This

* The purport of this order of Council was as follows, *viz.*

"*At a Court at Whitehall, this 13th. day of November*, 1685.

"Preſent,—The King,"—&c.

"THE following report from the right honorable, the Lords of the committee for trade and foreign plantations, being this day read at the board, &c. The ſubſtance of the ſaid Lords' report we find, that the ſaid lands intended to be granted by the Lord Baltimore's patent, were only cultivated, and inhabited by ſavages; and that the part then in diſpute, was inhabited and planted by Chriſtians at, and before, the date of the Lord *Baltimore's* patent, as it had been ever ſince, to that time, and continued as a diſtinct colony from that of *Maryland;* ſo that the

1685. This diviſion was, by the King, in Council, ordered immediately to be made; but its execution being many years delayed, Queen *Ann* was twice petitioned for a further hearing; which being obtained, the firſt order of council, of 1685, was, by the Queen, ratified and confirmed, in all its parts, and commanded to be put in execution, without further delay.

But delayed the execution, &c.

The boundary lines, &c.

In conſequence hereof this territory, which before had been divided by *William Penn*, into the three counties of *New-Caſtle*, *Kent* and *Suſſex*, became bounded on the eaſt, by the river and bay of *Delaware*, and partly by the ocean; on the ſouth, by an eaſt and weſt line, drawn a few miles ſouth of the *Indian* river, in latitude about thirty-eight and an half; which line extends halfway between the ocean, on the eaſt, and *Cheſapeak* bay, on the weſt, thirty-five miles; and from thence on the weſt of the ſaid counties, by a right line nearly in a north direction to the ſouth boundary of Pennſylvania; which is in a parallel of about fifteen miles due ſouth of *Philadelphia*;* ſo that the ſaid line touch the arch of a circle, drawn at twelve miles diſtance from New-Caſtle to the river *Delaware;* and thence from the end of the ſaid line, on the north eaſtward, to the river *Delaware*, by the ſaid arch.

Hence the breadth of theſe counties, eaſt and weſt, continues to decreaſe, from their ſouth boundary, where it is thirty-five miles, till it is only about twelve miles, at, or near, the border of

Lords offered it as their opinion, that, for avoiding further differences, the tract of land, lying between the river and bay of *Delaware* and the eaſtern ſea on one ſide, and *Cheſapeak* bay, on the other, be divided into two equal parts, by a line, from the latitude of cape *Henlopen*, to the fortieth degree of north latitude; (the ſouth boundary of *Pennſylvania* by charter) and that one half thereof, lying towards the Bay of *Delaware* and the Eaſtern ſea, be adjudged to belong to his Majeſty (*viz.* to King *James*, who granted it *W. Penn*, when Duke of *York*) and that the other half remain to the Lord *Baltimore*, as comprifed in his charter."

* For the final ſettlement of the boundary between the province of *Pennſylvania*, and *Maryland*, ſee afterwards, under the year 1732.

of *Pennſylvania*. The ſaid north and ſouth line, from latitude thirty-eight degrees, thirty minutes, to thirty-nine degrees, forty-four minutes, is about eighty-five miles; but, in conſideration of the ſpace, included in the north part of the circle's arch, the whole territory may, probably, be near ninety miles in length; this, multiplied by twenty-three, the mean breadth, gives 2070 ſquare miles; which laſt number, multiplied by 640, the number of acres in one ſquare mile, produces 1,324,800, or above one million and a quarter of acres, in this territory. 1685.

Content of the lower counties, in ſquare miles, and acres.

At a Council held in *Philadelphia*, on the firſt day of the Second-month, 1685,—Preſent *Thomas Lloyd*, Preſident, and nine others,—the lines of ſeparation between the county of *Philadelphia*, and thoſe of *Bucks* and *Cheſter*, were confirmed, according to the Proprietary's mind, ſignified to ſome of his friends, before he left the province.*

Boundaries of the province-counties aſcertained.

Nicholas Moore from *London*, one of the provincial judges, being firſt in commiſſion, took place, as prior judge; or in the ſtyle of later times, as *Chief Juſtice* of the province, and was a member of Aſſembly.† Though he appears to have been

* For a deſcription of theſe boundaries, ſee the chorographical part of this hiſtory, in the general view of the province near the concluſion.

† The Aſſembly had before this, on the 13th. of the Third-month, ſhewed an inſtance of their own authority, in expelling, or rather ſuſpending, one of their members, during the ſeſſion, viz. *John Bridges*, of Kent county, for contemptuous language to the houſe, expreſſed in Aſſembly, and refuſing to make ſubmiſſion; but upon his altering his mind, the next day, and making acknowledgment, &c. for his offence, he was reinſtated.

Votes of Aſſembly.

And on the 18th. Patrick Robinſon, clerk of the provincial circular courts, being admitted into the Houſe of Aſſembly, and requeſted to produce the records of ſaid courts; but he denying the ſame, and joining with *Moore*, was, for his contempt of the authority of the Houſe, diſobedience to their orders, and abuſing the Aſſembly, committed to the Sheriff's cuſtody, during the pleaſure of the houſe, and voted "A public enemy to the province of *Pennſylvania* and territories thereof, and a violator of the privileges of the freemen, in Aſſembly met."

Ibid.

1685. been a perſon of good and uſeful abilties, and eſteemed by the Proprietary, yet being accuſed of mal-practices, he fell under the diſpleaſure of the houſe; and they impeached him in form, by a declaration exhibited to the Council, on the 15th. of the Third-month, this year, conſiſting of ten articles; beſides ſaving to themſelves the liberty of adding more; and concluded with a requeſt, that he might be removed from his great offices and truſt, and be made to anſwer to the crimes and miſdemeanors, which were brought againſt him.*

N. Moore impeached.

The

* The following Letter from the Proprietary to the Magiſtrates, concerning ordinaries, with ſome others, about this time, indicate the exiſtence of ſome irregularities and abuſes, in the province, and his anxiety to have them redreſſed, *viz.*

"*Friends*,

"THERE is a cry come over into theſe parts againſt the number of drinking-houſes, and looſeneſs, that is committed in the *caves*." [Note, Theſe caves were ſome of the firſt habitations of the new ſettlers, under *William Penn*, till they got better erected; they were made in the bank, along the ſide of *Delaware*, where the city now ſtands, which then was higher ground.] "I am preſſed in my ſpirit, being very apt to believe too many diſorders, in that reſpect, ſtrictly to require, that ſpeedy and effectual care be taken:—Firſt, To reduce the number of ordinaries, or drinking-houſes; and that without reſpect to perſons:—Such are continued, that are moſt tender of God's glory, and the reputation of the government; and that all others, preſuming to ſell, be puniſhed according to law:—I deſire you to purge theſe *caves*, in *Philadelphia*; they are mine by licence and time:—The three years are expired;—I would have the ſuſpected forthwith ordered to get up houſing elſewhere; and the empty *caves* to accommodate the poor families, that may come over; *though they muſt not ſtand long* before men's doors. Whatever you do, let virtue be cheriſhed, and thoſe that ſhow to fear God, by a life according to it, be countenanced, and the evil perſon rebuked; that God, who bleſſeth thoſe that fear him, and call upon his name in all lands, may bleſs and preſerve you.—And though this be particularly addreſſed to you, let the magiſtrates of other towns have it to read among them. I add no more, but my deſires to the God of all our tender mercies to be with you all, in your duties and places, to his glory, and your praiſe and peace, Amen.

"*Your very loving Friend*,

"WM. PENN."

The following I find indorſed on the copy of the above letter, *viz.*

"Theſe are to certify, That notwithſtanding ſeveral within this county of *Philadelphia*, keep ordinaries, and ſell ſtrong liquors by retail, yet not one of them hath any licence for their ſo doing.

"WILLIAM MARKHAM.

"*Philadelphia*, 5*th*. 7*mo*. 1688."

The Council, having received the Aſſembly's charge againſt *Moore*, ordered ſeveral of their members to acquaint him with the accuſation, and to requeſt his appearance before the Council, next day; but he not appearing, at the time appointed, the articles againſt him were read a ſecond time, and notice given to the Aſſembly, that they were willing to hear their proofs. The Speaker, *John White*, *Abraham Man*, *Thomas Uſher*, *John Blunſton*, *William Barry* and *Samuel Gray* were appointed managers for the houſe, on the occaſion; who ſupporting the charge, the Preſident and Council ſent a ſecond notice to *Moore*, to appear at the Council-chamber, on the 19th. but he ſtill neglecting, after ſome time of delay, notice was again ſent him by a Council convened on the 2d. of the Fourth-month following, "*That he deſiſt and ceaſe from further acting, in any place of authority, or judicature, till the articles of impeachment exhibited againſt him, by the Aſſembly, be tried*, or, *that ſatisfaction be made to the board.**

1685.

Proceedings againſt N. Moore.

The following is an extract from an original letter, in the Proprietary's own hand writing, dated Sixth-month, 1685, and directed to Thomas Lloyd, John Simcock, Chriſtopher Taylor, James Harriſon, and Robert Turner.—Speaking of ſome perſons in the government, and certain diſorders, he ſays,—

——"I am ſorry at heart for your animoſities; cannot more friendly and private courſes be taken, to ſet matters to right, in an infant province, whoſe ſteps are numbered and watched? For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not ſo *governmentiſh*, ſo noiſy, and open, in your diſſatisfactions;—ſome folks love hunting in government itſelf."——"It is an abominable thing to have three warrants for one purchaſe; 'tis oppreſſion, that my ſoul loaths; I do hereby require it, that P. L. be called to account, for *requeſts* and *warrants*, &c. *for town-lot, liberty lot, and the reſt of the purchaſe: Why not one warrant for all, at leaſt, for liberty lot, and the remainder?* This is true and right oppreſſion; beſides, ſeveral things and ſums are ſet down, that are not in law, nor in my regulations," &c.

* The Aſſembly, in a letter to the Proprietary, ſigned by *John White*, their Speaker, expreſs themſelves in the following manner, reſpecting this affair, *viz.*

"*Moſt excellent Governor*,

"WE, *the Freemen* of the province of *Pennſylvania* and Territories, do, with unfeigned love to your perſon and government, with all due reſpect, acquaint you, that we have this laſt day of our ſeſſions, paſſed all

1685. I find nothing on record what theſe articles, or crimes and miſdemeanors particularly were; which, undoubtedly, could not be without real foundation: but, from circumſtances, it ſeems reaſonable to apprehend there might have been ſome animoſities and diſagreement, or miſunderſtanding among ſome of the perſons in authority, at this time, by which things might have been aggravated: this appears, in part, from Moore's obſtinacy, in refuſing to appear before the Council, and alſo from ſome letters of the Proprietary, in which he ſeems not to have been well pleaſed with part of theſe proceedings againſt him:* For *N. Moore*, after this,

The particulars of this impeachment do not appear, &c.

all ſuch bills, as we judged meet to paſs into laws: and impeached *Nicholas Moore*, a member of the Aſſembly, of ten articles, containing divers high crimes and miſdemeanours; and, in the preſence of the Preſident and Provincial Council, made very clear proof of the ſaid articles.

"We have had the perſon of *Patrick Robinſon* under reſtraint, for divers inſolencies and affronts unto the Aſſembly;—but there was a right and good underſtanding betwixt the Preſident, Council and Aſſembly, and a happy and friendly farewell.

"Dear and honoured Sir, the honor of God, the love of your perſon, and the preſervation of the peace and welfare of the government were, we hope, the only center, to which all our actions did tend. And although the wiſdom of the Aſſembly thought fit to humble that aſpiring and corrupt miniſter of ſtate, *Nicholas Moore*; yet, to you, dear Sir, and to the happy ſucceſs of your affairs, our hearts are open and our hands ready, at all times to ſubſcribe ourſelves, in the name of ourſelves and all the freemen we repreſent,

"Your obedient and faithful freemen,

"JOHN WHITE, *Speaker*."

"*P. S.* Honoured Sir, we know your wiſdom and goodneſs will make a candid conſtruction of all our actions, and that it ſhall be out of the power of malicious tongues to ſeparate betwixt our Governor and his freemen, who extremely long for your preſence, and ſpeedy arrival of your perſon."

* In one of theſe letters, dated Worminghurſt, the 1ſt. of the Twelfth month, 1686, to Thomas Lloyd, he ſays,

——"Since my return from *Germany* and *Holland*, where I had bleſſed ſervice for the Lord, I have viſited the north and north-weſt parts of this kingdom; as Oxfordſhire, Warwickſhire, Staffordſhire, Darbyſhire, Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, Biſhoprick and Yorkſhire; and the Lord was with me, in a ſweet and melting life, to my great joy and Friends' refreſhment."——

——"I rejoice that God has preſerved your health ſo well, and that his bleſſings are upon the earth; but grieved at the bottom of my heart for the heats and diſorders among the people," &c.—"This quarrel about the ſociety," (meaning the free ſociety of traders, of which *N. Moore* was

this, was inſtituted and continued by the Proprietary, in 1686, and 1687, one of his commiſſioners of government, a place of the higheſt honour and truſt, till his death, about two years after this time; in which office there appears no objection from any party againſt his conduct. 1685.

N. Moore lives and dies in the Proprietors favour after this.

But the neceſſity of an able and aſſiduous hand, to direct and manage the affairs of the infant colony, ſtill further appears, about this time, from ſome of the Proprietor's letters to thoſe in power, reſpecting

was Preſident) "has made your great guns heard hither: I blame nothing, nor the ſociety here, to be ſure; but I could wiſh *Dr. Moore* and P. R. could have been ſoftened, and that J. Cl.* had been more compoſed;"—"that may be a mighty political vice, that is not a moral one."——

* *Probably J. Claypoole*

——"Becauſe thy commiſſion may expire, in the opinions of ſome, as to Preſident of the Council, with thy membership, I have conſidered how to ſupply that defect, and that of thy abſence; and that is another ſort of deputation than before; which comes by the bearer, *Edward Blackfan*. I intreat thee to conſider of the true reaſon of our unhappineſs, of that ſide, among our magiſtrates: Is it not their *Self-value*, and ſlighting power in one another? Oh, this preference is, in religious and civil ſocieties, the bane of concord, that is the means of true happineſs. Men ſhould be meek, humble and grave; that draws reverence and love together: This wiſe and good men will do: Is any out of the way? They ſhould not ſo much look at his infirmity, as take care, they are not alſo overtaken, eying how many good qualities the offender has to ſerve the public; and not caſt a whole apple away, for one ſide being defective. The Lord God of peace and power, by his bleſſed grace, teach and lead his people, in his own blameleſs path to the end."

In another, to the ſame, dated, *Wormingburſt*, 6th. of Fourth-month, 1687, he ſpeaks thus,—

"Though I write in general, I was willing to ſalute thee in particular, hoping that this will find thee and thine well, and at your eaſe, in *poor Pennſylvania*, where nothing, on my part, in my power, ſhall be wanting to make you ſo: I do beſeech thee to travail in the ſpirit of meekneſs, and of the precious, gentle wiſdom of God, that is eaſily entreated, and works its way through the hardeſt rocks, to quiet, and calm and determine; and not leaving things to my coming too much: Next, remember this, that though the politic ancients overlooked many ill things rather than, by the ſeverity of puniſhment, to diſcourage planting their new colonies, or any ſort from ſettling among them; yet, *we*, that have our eye to another home, whoſe due we have been taught to look for, as the reaſon of all true proſperity; and that it has ever been according to our faith, are to act, as in his ſight, and diſcharge ourſelves, as righteous men, againſt all unrighteouſneſs; wherefore, pray, let the law have its courſe;—as for *Dr. Moore* and *P. Robinſon*, the perſons eſteemed the moſt unquiet and croſs to Friends, try what is poſſible to quiet them; endeavour, by private viſits and admonitions to ſweeten them; much good may come of it:—The Lord God of endleſs power bleſs you, and furniſh you, to his praiſe."

1685. respecting some disagreement, or discord, among certain of the magistrates, and persons in authority, abuses in some of the offices, and the prevention and suppression of vice and immorality; in which he expresses his concern and displeasure at these things, with a parental affection; giving suitable directions, and earnestly pressing their effectual endeavours to cure such disorders.*

Some small disorders in the colony, &c.

Appointment of the Judges, &c.

On the 14th. of September, *James Harrison*, *James Claypoole*, and *Arthur Cooke* were nominated, by the Council, to be Provincial Judges;—but *Harrison* and *Cooke* refusing to serve, and *Claypoole* being prevented by sickness, the Council, in order to answer the expectation of such persons as were concerned in appeals, agreed to receive them, and to sit for the decision of differences, themselves, at the time appointed for the court to sit; which was on the 24th. After this, at their triennial election, according to charter, being, in part, new chosen, they, by fresh commissions, appointed the several officers of government.

Means used to instruct the *Indians*, &c.

In this year, 1685, the *Quakers*, in their yearly meeting, at *Burlington*, in *West Jersey*, took additional measures to prevent all persons, in their society, from selling strong liquors to the *Indians*. About the same time, by particular appointment, they also had a religious meeting with them, as they frequently had before; to inform and instruct them in the principles of *Christianity*, and the practice of a true *christian* life.

The *Indians* generally heard patiently what was said to them on this subject, and seemed affected with it, for a time; but, for the most part, it appeared

* In a letter to J. Harrison about this time, or soon after, the Proprietary expresses his grief at these things; which, he says, "*Disgraced the province;*" and pressingly requests, that a number of persons, whom he there names, should exert themselves, and conjunctively so act, for the common good, as either by persuasion, or authority, to put an end to the same; and prevent disputes and quarrels among them; declaring, "That their conduct herein had struck back hundreds, and was £10,000 out of his way, and £100,000 out of the country."

peared to make no very durable impreſſion, on their minds, for the proper regulation of their paſſions and appetites; which, at laſt, too generally ſeemed to prevail over convictions of this nature, and their better knowledge. 1685.

Divers preachers of this religious ſociety, from abroad, often had meetings, and ſerious diſcourſe with them, for this purpoſe; as well as thoſe who had ſettled in the country, particularly, *Samuel Jennings*, *Thomas Olive*, *William Penn* and others, from time to time, laboured to inculcate into them a juſt ſenſe of the benefit of a *chriſtian* life and conduct.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VIII.

William Penn's employment in Europe, for the promotion of religion and virtue.—His expence and endeavours to advance the intereſt and happineſs of the province, and to prevent diſcord in it.—Extracts from his letters, on theſe ſubjects, &c.—More emigrants from Holland and Germany encreaſe the ſettlement of Germantown.—Five commiſſioners of ſtate, or of the government of Pennſylvania, created.—The Proprietor's inſtructions to them.—His letter to the ſame, &c.—His beneficent employment in England for his ſuffering friends, the Quakers, &c.—Though he is miſrepreſented and abuſed, &c.—He appears to have accompanied the King through ſome counties in England.—His ſpeech to the King, on delivering the Quakers' addreſs.—The addreſs itſelf, with the King's anſwer.—Objections againſt the Quakers' conduct anſwered.—William Penn continues his endeavours in favour of toleration; but labours under unjuſt imputations.— William Popple's letter to him, on the ſubject, with his anſwer.

1686. The *Proprietor* publiſhes a further account of the province.

IN the year 1686, *William Penn* publiſhed a further account of the province of *Pennſylvania*, wrote ſeveral pieces, on religious ſubjects, chiefly in defence of toleration, in religion, (extant in his works) and appears to have been in *Germany* and *Holland*, as well as much engaged in various good ſervices, among his friends, the *Quakers*, and in promoting religion and virtue, in divers parts, perſonally,

perſonally, in his native country; at the ſame time continuing his care and endeavours, for the benefit, happineſs and proſperity of his province, though abſent, by means of written directions and advice, from time to time, for the prevention of diſorders, and the redreſſing of ſuch things as appeared inconſiſtent with the real intereſt of the colony. 1686.

His expences for the province bring him into difficulty.

But his great expence and generoſity, in the original ſettlement of the province, as well as afterwards, were ſo very conſiderable, when compared with his private fortune, that, even before this time, he began to feel the effects thereof to ſuch a degree, that in his letters to ſome of his friends there, he was obliged to complain of the ſlowneſs, or deficiency, of returns from the place, where, and concerning which, he had ſowed ſo much, or expended ſo liberally, as he had done.*

In,

* The following extracts, as well as the preceding, are taken from the Proprietary's original letters, in his own hand writing, *viz.*

In anſwer to a remonſtrance and addreſs to him, reſpecting the *Front* and *Bank lots*, in *Philadelphia*, dated 3d. Sixth-month, 1684, he ſays,— "I have made the moſt purchaſes, and been at the greateſt charge of any Proprietary and Governor, in *America*," &c.

In a letter, dated, *Briſtol*, 5th. of Ninth-month, 1695, directed to A. Cook, J. Simcock, S. Carpenter, J. Goodſon, S. Richardſon, R. Turner, Ph. Pemberton, and D. Lloyd; *Pennſylvania*, he declares,—

——"I muſt ſay, that what I have ſpent upon the province, as Governor and Planter, is the foundation of my preſent incumbrance; as P. F. (Philip Ford) knows, and aſſerted to the Lords of plantations lately, to be £4,000 more than the whole, that I ever received for lands, beſides what it has coſt me here," &c.

In a letter to Thomas Lloyd, dated, Seventh-month, 1686, he ſays, and complains, that, at that time, "His quit-rents were, at leaſt, £500 per annum value, and then due, though he could not get one penny."— "God is my witneſs," (ſays he, in the ſame letter) "I lie not; I am above ſix thouſand pounds out of pocket, more than ever I ſaw by the province, and throw in my pains, care, and hazard of life, and leaving of my family and friends, to ſerve them," &c.

In a letter to *James Harriſon*, dated, London, 23d. Seventh-month, 1686, ſpeaking of his going to his province, he ſays,—

——"Beſides, that the country think not on my ſupply, and I reſolve never to act the Governor, and keep another family and capacity upon my private eſtate; if my table, cellar, and ſtable may be provided for, with a barge and yatch, or ſloop, for the ſervice of governor and government, I may try to get hence; for, in the ſight of God, I can ſay,

I am

1686. In, or about this year, 1686, arrived in the province, many *Friends*, or *Quakers*, and others, from *Holland* and *Germany;* who ſettled among their friends, at *German-town*, near *Philadelphia*, and increaſed that ſettlement, which was begun in 1683. Some of thoſe, who now came, having ſuffered conſiderably by fire, ſoon after their arrival, were aſſiſted by the Friends, in the city and county of *Philadelphia.*

Arrivals from Holland and Germany.

The Proprietary found too much inconveniency to ariſe from his commiſſion of the power of government to ſo many perſons as the Council conſiſted of, and, as before hinted, not being well pleaſed with part of their conduct, or management, declaring, "that the charter was forfeited, if he would take advantage at it;"* hence, in the latter part of the year 1686, by a freſh commiſſion, he contracted the number of his repreſentatives, or of the executive part of the government, to five perſons only, *viz. Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner*, and *John Eckley*, conſtituting and ſtyling them *Commiſſioners of State*, or, of the government of *Pennſylvania.*

The Proprietor alters the executive part of government.

Five Commiſſioners appointed.

Both the cauſe of their inſtitution, and the nature of their office, in part, appear from the following inſtructions, *viz.*

"*William*

I am five thouſand pounds, and more, behind hand, more than ever I received, or ſaw, for land, in that province," &c.——"There is nothing my ſoul breathes more for, in this world, next my dear family's life, *than that I may ſee poor Pennſylvania again;*"—"but I cannot force my way hence, and ſee nothing done, on that ſide, inviting," &c.

* In another letter to the ſame, about this time, he complains,—That the *Provincial Council* neglected, or ſlighted, his letters to them; that he had religiouſly conſecrated his pains, in a prudent manner, but it was not valued, underſtood, or kept to; ſo that the charter was over and over again forfeited, if he would take advantage at it;—that they entirely neglected the ſupply, which they had promiſed him; which, in conſequence of his great expence, on account of the province, was one cauſe, that kept him from *Pennſylvania;* declaring, "That he would not ſpend his private eſtate, to diſcharge a public ſtation."

" *William Penn, Proprietor and Governor,* 1686.

" *To my truſty and well beloved friends, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner and John Eckley, or any three of them, at Philadelphia:*

" TRUSTY and well-beloved, I heartily ſalute you; leſt any ſhould ſcruple the termination of Preſident Lloyd's commiſſion, with his place in the Provincial Council, and to the end that there may be a more conſtant reſidence of the honorary and governing part of the government, for the keeping all things in good order, I have ſent a freſh commiſſion of deputation to you, making any three of you a *quorum*, to act in the execution of laws, enacting, diſannulling, or varying of laws, as if I myſelf were there preſent, reſerving to myſelf the confirmation of what is done, and my peculiar royalties and advantages. The Proprietary's inſtructions to them.

" Firſt, You are to oblige the *Provincial Council* to their charter attendance; or to take ſuch a Council, as you think convenient, to adviſe and aſſiſt you, in the buſineſs of the public: for I will no more endure their moſt ſlothful and diſhonorable attendance, but diſſolve the frame, without any more ado: let them look to it, if further occaſion be given.

" Secondly, That you keep to the dignity of your ſtation, in Council, and out; but eſpecially, to ſuffer no diſorder in the Council, nor the Council and Aſſembly, or either of them, to entrench upon the powers and privileges remaining yet in me.

" Thirdly, That you admit not any parleys, or open conferences, between the Provincial Council and Aſſembly; but one, with your approbation, propoſe and let the other conſent or diſſent, according to charter.

" Fourthly,

1686. "Fourthly, That you curiouſly inſpect the paſt proceedings of both, and let me know, in what they have broken the bounds, or obligations of their charter.

The Proprietary's inſtructions to the Commiſſioners.

"Fifthly, That you, this very next Aſſembly General, declare my abrogation of all that has been done ſince my abſence; and ſo, of all the laws, but the fundamentals; and that you immediately diſmiſs the Aſſembly, and call it again; and paſs ſuch of them afreſh, with ſuch alterations, as you and they ſhall ſee meet; and this, to avoid a greater inconveniency; which I foreſee, and formerly communicated to *Thomas Lloyd*.

"Sixthly, Inſpect the qualifications of members in Council and Aſſembly; and ſee they be according to charter; and eſpecially of thoſe, that have the adminiſtration of juſtice; and whatever you do, let the point of the laws be turned againſt impiety, and your ſevere brow upon all the troubleſome and vexatious, more eſpecially, trifling, appeallers.

"You ſhall ſhortly have a limitation from the King; though you have power, with the Council and Aſſembly, to fix the matter and manner of appeals, as much as to do any juſtice, or prevent any diſorder, in the province, at all.

"Seventhly, That till then, I have ſent you a proclamation, to that effect, according to the powers of ordinance making, and declared in my letters patent, which you may expoſe, as you pleaſe.

"Eighthly, Be moſt juſt, as in the ſight of the *all-ſeeing*, *all-ſearching* God; and before you let your ſpirits into an affair, retire to him (who is not far away from every one of you; by whom kings reign, and princes decree juſtice) that he may give you a good underſtanding, and government of your ſelves, in the management thereof; which is that

that which truly crowns public actions, and dignifies thoſe, that perform them. You ſhall hear further from me by *C. King;* the ſhip is ready to ſail, ſo ſhall only admoniſh you in general, that, next to the preſervation of virtue, have a tender regard to peace, and my privileges, in which enact from time to time. Love, forgive, help and ſerve one another; and let the people learn by your example, as well as by your power, the happy life of concord: So commending you to God's grace and keeping, I bid you heartily farewell. 1686.

The Proprietary's inſtructions to the Commiſſioners.

"Given at *Worminghurſt*, in old *England*, the firſt of the Twelfth-month, 1686."*

During

* His manner of writing to theſe Commiſſioners further appears, by the following extract from one of his letters to them, dated, the ſixth of the Fourth-month, 1687.

"William Penn, Proprietor and Governor,

"To Thomas Lloyd, Robert Turner, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole and John Eckley,

"TRUSTY and well-beloved friends, I ſalute you all with ſincere affection, deſiring your temporal and eternal proſperity.

"I have conſtituted you, or any three of you, Governor, and ſo are properly *the Commiſſioners* of the government; to act, as if I were preſent: And I hope it will conduce to your honor, and the peace and happineſs of the people, under your care. I found my former deputation clogged with a long and ſlow tale of perſons, rarely got together, and then with unwillingneſs, and ſometimes reflections, even, upon me; for their pains of hearing one letter read;—That time may ſhew them they were out, in their cenſure, having then contracted their deputation into your hands.—Be diligent, faithful, loving, and communicate with one another, in things that concern the public; and I no ways doubt, but your breaches will heal, and your example have that effect, that nothing will be left for me to do, but thank and love you, and take pleaſure in your comely order and thoſe under you.

"I beſeech you draw not ſeveral ways, have no cabals apart, nor reſerves from one another; treat, with a mutual ſimplicity, an entire confidence in one another; and if, at any time, you miſtake, or miſapprehend, or diſſent from one another; let not that appear to the people; ſhew your virtues but conceal your infirmities; this will make you awful and reverent with the people. Juſtice, mercy, temperance of ſpirit, are high qualities, and neceſſary ones in government; I beſeech God to fit you for his work more and more; by whom all Governors and people in authority, ought to be influenced, in their adminiſtration of temporal things, committed to their care.

"Three things occur to me eminently;—Firſt, that you be watchful that none abuſe the King, in reference to his dues, &c.—Secondly, That you get the cuſtom act revived, with the firſt; for I think that the equalleſt, and leaſt offenſive way, to ſupport the government; for ſomething

1686. During moſt of the time of *William Penn's* abſence from his province, till the reign of King *William* the Third, though not many public tranſactions, nor proceedings of much importance and notoriety, appear to have paſſed in *Pennſylvania* beſides thoſe which reſpect the labour and advantages of an induſtrious people, in the colonization of the country, and laying a foundation for future greatneſs, by facilitating and multiplying the reaſonable enjoyments and bleſſings of life; yet its eminent founder was not the leſs active and beneficial to mankind, in another department; and his *ſuffering friends*, the *Quakers*, in *Great Britain*, experienced the effect of his attendance and ſolicitations, at court,* in their favour: where his frequent

Advantage of an induſtrious people, &c.

thing muſt be done, in that affair, &c. Thirdly, That you retrieve the dignity of courts and ſeſſions; and remove all perſons unqualified in morals or incapacity. Oh, that I could but have that, by your union, gravity, conſtant weekly meetings once or twice, as Second-days, and Fifth-days, in the morning or afternoon, to hear, advice, or do what is fit for the public good; that you had recovered the reputation which becomes that province to have;—For, what with that, which is real, and that malice in your neighbours of ſome governments invent, we have much ado to keep our heads above water here.

"I ſhall add no more, but my love to the people, in general; and that ſo ſoon as my affairs will let me, I ſhall be with them: for no poor ſlave in Turkey, longs more for his freedom. I commit you to God's protection, and bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at *Wormingburſt*, this 6th. day of the Fourth-month, 1687."

In his inſtruſtions, dated, *London*, the 21ſt. of the Eighth-month, 1687, he further ſays,

——"And, firſt, I recommend to you the vigorous ſuppreſſion of vice, and that without reſpect of perſons, or perſwaſions. *Let not fooliſh pity rob juſtice of its due, and the people of proper examples.* I know what malice and prejudice ſay; but they move me not.—I know how to allow for new colonies, though others do not; nevertheleſs double your diligence," &c.

* In a letter to *James Harriſon*, his agent, at *Pennſbury*, about this time, he gives the following hints of his employment then in England, *viz.*

——"I am engaged in the public buſineſs of the nation and Friends; and thoſe in authority would have me ſee the eſtabliſhment of the liberty, that I was a ſmall inſtrument to begin in the land. The Lord has given me great entrance and intereſt with the K——, though not ſo much as is ſaid; and I confeſs I ſhould rejoice to ſee poor old *England* fixed, the penal laws repealed, that are now ſuſpended; and if it goes well with *England*, it cannot go ill with *Pennſylvania*."——"but this I will ſay, no temporal honor, or profit, can tempt me to decline poor *Pennſylvania*,

as

frequent acceſs to the King brought him into ſuſpicion of being a diſguiſed *Jeſuit*, and under unjuſt cenſures and imputations; as if he had been an adviſer, and contributed, to thoſe arbitrary meaſures, which that impolitic King (James the ſecond) purſued: Whereas his generous plan of liberty, ſo far as his power extended, and his otherwiſe well known principles of government, were as contrary to thoſe of the King, as could poſſibly be, and his religion no leſs oppoſite. 1686.

W. Penn ſuſpected of being a diſguiſed Jeſuit.

Nevertheleſs he was not only infamouſly aſperſed and abuſed, in print, on theſe accounts, by divers illiberal and ſlanderous performances, publiſhed againſt him, and ſome of them, even, in his own name, but alſo cenſured by ſome perſons of good underſtanding and character; who, in divers reſpects were his friends, but not thoroughly knowing him, fell into the like ſuſpicions: An inſtance of this appears in Dr. *Tillotſon*, afterwards *Arch-biſhop* of *Canterbury;* but, by means of a friendly epiſtolary correſpondence between them, on the ſubject, in the year 1686, as appears in *William Penn's* life prefixed to his printed works, Dr. *Tillotſon* was fully convinced of, and as freely acknowledged, his miſtake.

and vilified in print, &c.

But he continued ſtill to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the cauſe of an impartial toleration, in religion, both in writing, and alſo by aſſiduous perſonal ſolicitations, at court, as a ſtrenuous and unwearied advocate for that undoubted right of mankind; of which he, and his Friends, the *Quakers*, had, through the perſecuting and bigoted ſpirit of thoſe times, been long unjuſtly deprived. Hence, in the fore part of this year, in conſequence of the King's *proclamation* for a general pardon, "*about thirteen hundred of theſe people, moſt of whom had been*

W. Penn's beneficent conduct in England.

Its conſequences in favour of religious liberty, &c.

as unkindly uſed as I am; and no poor ſlave in *Turkey* deſires more earneſtly, I believe, for deliverance, than I do to be with you; wherefore be contented a while, and God in his time will bring us together."—&c.

1687. *been impriſoned divers years, for their religion, were ſet at liberty:*" And in April, the next following year, 1687, came forth the King's *declaration* for liberty of conſcience, ſuſpending the execution of all penal laws, in matters eccleſiaſtical.

The Quakers juſtifiable in being grateful for this relief, &c.

For this temporary relief from cruel ſuffering, by the intolerant and unjuſt laws of thoſe times, they who had endured moſt oppreſſion and perſecution, undoubtedly had the greateſt reaſon to be thankful: and whatever were the ſuppoſed views of the government thereby, in too much favouring a *Popiſh party*, yet, for the *Quakers* to refuſe, or reject the reſtitution of that natural right of mankind, and moſt undoubted privilege of *Engliſh* people, and all peaceable ſubjects, merely becauſe it might be made an ill uſe of by others, and was not done in due form, would certainly have been the higheſt abſurdity: and for thoſe, who had ſuffered more deeply than all others, not to acknowledge and commend the redreſs of ſuch a crying and intolerable grievance and affliction, as they had endured, in reſpect to themſelves, ſo long and ſo laboriouſly ſolicited, by them, of the preceding King and Parliaments, *in vain*, would have ſhewed the greateſt ingratitude and inſenſibility; more eſpecially, as it was ſcarcely poſſible for them to be in a much worſe condition, even, under a *Popiſh hierarchy* itſelf, than they had, for many years, endured, both under *Cromwell*, King *Charles* the Second, and their *Parliaments*, to this time, without being able to obtain redreſs any other way: Wherefore, at their next annual Aſſembly, held in *London* in the Third-month, this year, the *Quakers*

From their cruel ſufferings, &c.

Note.—In the Summer of the year 1687, *W. Penn*, by ſome of his letters, to his friends in *Pennſylvania*, ſeems to have been with the King, in a *progreſs*, thro' divers of the counties in *England*, viz. *Berkſhire*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Oxfordſhire* and *Hampſhire*:—during which journey he had ſeveral religious meetings with the people; and in ſome places, where the king appears to have been preſent, particularly in *Cheſter*. M. S. letters.

Quakers drew up an addreſs of thanks to the King, deputing *William Penn* and others, to preſent the ſame; his ſpeech on the preſenting it, with the addreſs itſelf, and the King's anſwer, were, as follow, *viz.* 1687. The Quakers thank the King.

William Penn's *ſpeech to the King, upon his delivering the* Quakers' addreſs, *viz.*

" *May it pleaſe the King,*

" IT was the ſaying of our bleſſed Lord to the captious *Jews*, in the caſe of tribute, *render to Cæſar the things, that are Cæſar's, and to God, the things, that are God's.* As this diſtinction ought to be obſerved by all men, in the conduct of their lives, ſo the King has given us an illuſtrious example, in his own perſon, that excites us to it: For while he was a ſubject, he gave *Cæſar* his tribute, and now he is *Cæſar*, gives *God* his due, *viz.* the ſovereignty over conſciences. It were a great ſhame, then, for any *Engliſhman* (that profeſſes *Chriſtianity*) not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his diſtreſſed ſubjects from their cruel ſufferings, and raiſed to himſelf a new and laſting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray *God* to continue the King in this noble reſolution; for he is now upon a principle, that has good nature, *Chriſtianity*, and the good of civil ſociety on its ſide, a ſecurity to him beyond the little arts of government. W. Penn's Speech to the King.

" I would not that any ſhould think, that we come hither with deſign to fill the *Gazette* with our thanks; but, as our ſufferings would have moved *ſtones to compaſſion*, ſo we ſhould be harder, if we were not moved to gratitude.

" Now, ſince the King's mercy and goodneſs have reached to us throughout the *kingdom of England and principality of Wales*, our *General Aſſembly*, from all thoſe parts, met at *London*, about our church

1687. church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the King, with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do, by this addreſs, with all the effection and reſpect of a dutiful ſubject.

" *The* addreſs *to King* James IId. *over* England, &c.

" *The humble and grateful acknowledgement of his peaceable ſubjects, called* Quakers, *in this kingdom.*

" *From their uſual* Yearly Meeting, *in* London, *the nineteenth day of the Third-month, vulgarly called May,* 1687.

The Quakers addreſs to the king.

" WE cannot but bleſs and praiſe the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the King to hear the cries of his ſuffering ſubjects for *conſcience ſake;* and we rejoice, that, inſtead of troubling him with complaints of our ſufferings, he hath given us ſo eminent an occaſion to preſent him with our thanks: And ſince it hath pleaſed the King, out of his great compaſſion, thus to commiſerate our afflicted condition, which hath ſo particularly appeared, by his gracious proclamation and warrants, laſt year, whereby twelve hundred priſoners were releaſed from their ſevere impriſonments, and many others, from ſpoil and ruin, in their eſtates and properties; and his princely ſpeech in Council, and *Chriſtian* declaration for liberty of conſcience, in which he doth not only expreſs his averſion to all force upon conſcience, and grant all his diſſenting ſubjects an ample liberty to worſhip God in the way they are perſwaded is moſt agreeable to his will, but gives them his kingly word, the ſame ſhall continue, during his reign; we do (as our friends of this city have already done) render the King our humble, chriſtian and thankful acknowledgments, not only in behalf of our ſelves, but with reſpect to our *Friends,* throughout *England* and *Wales;* and pray

pray God, with all our hearts, to bleſs and preſerve thee, O King, and thoſe under thee, in ſo good a work: and as we can aſſure the King it is well accepted in the ſeveral counties, from whence we came, ſo we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade and proſperity of the kingdom, will produce ſuch a concurrence from the parliament, as may ſecure it to our poſterity, in after-times; and while we live, it ſhall be our endeavour (through God's grace) to demean ourſelves, as, in conſcience to God, and duty to the King, we are obliged, his peaceable, loving and faithful ſubjects." 1687.

The King's anſwer.

"*Gentlemen,*

The King's anſwer.

"I thank you heartily for your addreſs: Some of you know (I am ſure you do, Mr. *Penn*) that it was always my principle, that conſcience ought not to be forced: and that all men ought to have the liberty of their conſciences. And what I have promiſed, in my declaration, I will continue to perform, ſo long as I live. And, I hope, before I die, to ſettle it ſo, that after ages ſhall have no reaſon to alter it."

Some objections againſt the Quakers anſwered.

"Some (ſays the writer of *William Penn's* life) have objected againſt the *Quakers*, and other diſſenters, for addreſſing King *James*, upon the aforeſaid declaration of indulgence, as though they had thereby countenanced the King's diſpenſing with the laws in general; let ſuch obſerve, their imputation, as to *William Penn* and his *Friends*, the *Quakers*, is ſufficiently guarded againſt, in that part of their *addreſs*, where they ſay, *we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade and proſperity of the kingdom will produce ſuch a concurrence from the Parliament, as may ſecure it to our poſterity.* 'Tis plain, therefore, they gratefully accepted of the *ſuſpenſion of the penal laws*, by the

1687. King's prerogative (as who, in their caſe, would not?) a thing in itſelf juſt and reaſonable, in their hopes of having the ſame afterwards confirmed by the legiſlative authority; there being, at that time, much talk of an approaching Parliament: and that their expectation centered not in the *King's diſpenſing power*, is evident, by *William Penn's* continuing his endeavours to ſhew the neceſſity of aboliſhing the *penal laws;* for ſoon after this he wrote a large tract, called, *Good advice to the church of England, Roman Catholic, and Proteſtant Diſſenters;* in which he ſhews the diſannulling of thoſe laws to be their general intereſt; and ſoon after he publiſhed another book, entitled, *The great and popular objection againſt the repeal of the penal laws*, briefly ſtated *and conſidered.*"

W. Penn continues his endeavours in favour of toleration.

He ſtill continues under unjuſt imputations, &c.

But he ſtill continuing to labour under many jealouſies and reflections, as a countenancer of the court proceedings, in general; the following letters between him and one of his particular friends, Sir *William Popple*, then ſecretary to the plantation office, in 1688, may ſerve further to elucidate that ſubject, *viz.*

1688.

"*To the Honourable William Penn, Eſquire, Proprietor and Governor of* Pennſylvania.

"*Honoured Sir,*

W. Popple to W. Penn.

"THOUGH the friendſhip, with which you are pleaſed to honour me, doth afford me ſufficient opportunities of diſcourſing with you, upon any ſubject, yet I choſe rather, at this time, to offer unto you, in writing, ſome reflections, which have occurred to my thoughts, in a matter of no common importance. The importance of it doth primarily and directly reſpect yourſelf, and your own private concernments; but it alſo conſequentially and effectually regards the King, his government, and, even, the peace and ſettlement of this whole

whole nation. I intreat you, therefore, to bear with me, if I endeavour, in this manner, to give somewhat more weight unto my words, than would be in a transient discourse, and leave them with you, as a subject, that requires your retired consideration. 1688. W. Popple to W. Penn.

"You are not ignorant, that the part you have been supposed to have had, of late years, in public affairs, though without either the title, or honor, or profit, of any public office, and that especially your avowed endeavours to introduce amongst us a general and inviolable *liberty of conscience*, in matters of mere religion, have occasioned the mistakes of some men, provoked the malice of others, and, in the end, have raised against you a multitude of enemies; who have unworthily defamed you with such imputations, as, I am sure, you abhor. This I know you have been sufficiently informed of, though I doubt you have not made sufficient reflection upon it: The consciousness of your own innocence seems to me to have given you too great a contempt of such unjust and ill-grounded slanders. For however glorious it is, and reasonable, for a truly virtuous mind, whose inward peace is founded upon that rock of innocence, to despise the empty noise of popular reproach, yet, even, that sublimity of spirit may sometimes swell to a reprovable excess. To be steady and immovable, in the prosecution of wise and honest resolutions, by all honest and prudent means, is, indeed, a duty, that admits of no exception: But, nevertheless, it ought not to hinder that, at the same time, there be also due care taken of preserving a fair reputation. "*A good name*, says the wise man, *is better than precious ointment.*" It is a perfume, that recommends the person, whom it accompanies, that procures him every where an easy acceptance; and that facilitates the success of all his enterprises: And for that

1688. that reaſon, though there were no other, I entreat you, obſerve, that the care of a man's reputation is an eſſential part of that very ſame duty, that engages him in the purſuit of any worthy deſign.

W. Popple to W. Penn.

"But I muſt not entertain you with a declamation upon this general theme: my buſineſs is to repreſent to you, more particularly, thoſe very imputations, which are caſt upon yourſelf, together with ſome of their evident conſequences; that, if poſſible, I may thereby move you to labour after a remedy. The ſource of all ariſes from the ordinary acceſs, you have unto the King, the credit you are ſuppoſed to have with him, and the deep jealouſy, that ſome people have conceived of his intentions, in reference to religion. Their jealouſy is, that his aim has been to ſettle *Popery* in this nation, not only in a fair and ſecure liberty, but, even, in a predominating ſuperiority over all other profeſſions: And from thence the inference follows, that whoſoever has any part in the councils of this reign, muſt needs be popiſhly affected: But that, to have ſo great a part in them, as you are ſaid to have had, can happen to none, but an *abſolute Papiſt*. That is the direct charge; but that is not enough; your part is too conſiderable for a Papiſt of an ordinary form; and, therefore, you muſt be a *Jeſuit:* Nay, to confirm that ſuggeſtion, it muſt be accompanied with all the circumſtances, that may beſt give it an air of probability; as, that you have been bred at *St. Omer's*, in the *Jeſuit's college;* that you have taken *orders* at *Rome*, and there obtained a diſpenſation to marry; and that you have ſince then frequently officiated, as a *Prieſt*, in the celebration of the *maſs*, at *White-Hall*, *St. James's*, and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be caſt upon you. Whatſoever is thought amiſs, either in church or ſtate, though never ſo contrary to your advice, is boldly attributed to it; and, if

other proofs fail, the Scripture itſelf muſt be brought in to confirm, "That whoſoever offends, in one point, (in a point eſpecially ſo eſſential as that of our too much affected uniformity) is guilty of the breach of all our laws." Thus the charge of *Popery* draws after it a tail like the *et cætera oath*, and by endleſs innuendos prejudicates you, as guilty of whatſoever malice can invent, or folly believe: But that charge, therefore, being removed, the inferences, that are drawn from it, will vaniſh, and your reputation will eaſily return to its former brightneſs. 1688. W. Popple to W. Penn.

"Now, that I might the more effectually perſwade you to apply ſome remedy to this diſeaſe, I beſeech you, Sir, ſuffer me to lay before you ſome of its pernicious conſequences. It is not a trifling matter, for a perſon, raiſed as you are, above the common level, to lie under the prejudice of ſo general a miſtake, in ſo important a matter. The general, and the long prevalency of any opinion gives it a ſtrength, eſpecially among the vulgar, that is not eaſily ſhaken. And, as it happens that you have alſo enemies of an higher rank, who will be ready to improve ſuch popular miſtakes, by all arts of malicious artifices, it muſt be taken for granted that thoſe errors will be thereby ſtill more confirmed, and the inconveniences, that may ariſe from thence, no leſs increaſed. This, Sir, I aſſure you, is a melancholy proſpect to your friends; for we know you have ſuch enemies. The deſign of ſo univerſal a liberty of conſcience, as your principles have led you to promote, has offended many of thoſe, whoſe intereſt is to croſs it. I need not tell you how many, and how powerful they are; nor can I tell you either how far, or by what ways and means they may endeavour to execute their revenge. But this, however, I muſt needs tell you, that, in your preſent circumſtances, there is ſufficient ground

for

1688. for ſo much jealouſy, at leaſt, as ought to excite you to uſe the precaution of ſome public vindication. This the tenderneſs of friendſhip prompts your friends to deſire of you; and this the juſt ſenſe of your honor, which true religion does not extinguiſh, requires you to execute.

W. Popple to W. Penn.

"Pardon, I entreat you, Sir, the earneſtneſs of theſe expreſſions; nay, ſuffer me, without offence, to expoſtulate with you yet a little farther. I am fearful leſt theſe perſonal conſiderations ſhould not have their due weight with you, and therefore, I cannot omit to reflect alſo upon ſome more general conſequences of your particular reproach. I have ſaid it already, that the King, his honour, his government, and, even, the peace and ſettlement of this whole nation, either are, or have been, concerned in this matter: Your reputation, as you are ſaid to have meddled in public affairs, have been of public concernment. The promoting a general liberty of conſcience having been your particular province; the aſperſion of *Popery* and *Jeſuitiſm*, that has been caſt upon *you*, has reflected upon his *Majeſty*, for having made uſe, in that affair, of ſo diſguiſed a perſonage as you are ſuppoſed to have been. It has weakened the force of all your endeavours, obſtructed their effect, and contributed greatly to diſappoint this poor nation of that ineſtimable happineſs, and ſecure eſtabliſhment, which, I am perſwaded, you deſigned, and which all good and wiſe men agree, that a juſt and inviolable liberty of conſcience would infallibly produce. I heartily wiſh this conſideration had been ſooner laid to heart, and that ſome demonſtrative evidence of your ſincerity, in the profeſſion you make, had accompanied all your endeavours for liberty.

"But, what do I ſay, or what do I wiſh for? I confeſs that I am now ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at that abundant evidence, which I know you have conſtantly

conſtantly given, of the oppoſition of your principles to thoſe of the *Romiſh* church, and at the little regard, there has been had to it. If an open profeſſion of the directeſt oppoſition againſt *Popery*, that has ever appeared in the world, ſince *Popery* was firſt diſtinguiſhed from *common Chriſtianity*, would ſerve the turn, this cannot be denied to all thoſe of that *ſociety*, with which you are joined in the duties of religious worſhip. If to have maintained the principles of that ſociety, by frequent and fervent diſcourſes, by many elaborate writings, by ſuffering ignominy, impriſonment, and other manyfold diſadvantages, in defence thereof, can be admitted as any proof of your ſincere adherence thereunto; this, it is evident to the world, you have done already: Nay, farther, if to have enquired as far as was poſſible for you, into the particular ſtories, that have been framed againſt you, and to have ſought all means of rectifying the miſtakes, upon which they were grounded, could, in any meaſure avail to the ſettling a true character of you, in men's judgments; this alſo I know you have done. For I have ſeen, under the hand of a reverend Dean* of our *Engliſh* church, a full acknowledgment of ſatisfaction, received from you, in a ſuſpicion he had entertained, upon one of thoſe ſtories, and to which his report had procured too great credit. And though I know you are averſe to the publiſhing of his letter, without his expreſs leave, and, perhaps, may not now think fit to aſk it; yet I am ſo thoroughly aſſured of his ſincerity and candour, that I cannot doubt, but he has already vindicated you, in that matter, and will, (according to his promiſe) be ſtill ready to do it, upon all occaſions. Nay, I have ſeen alſo your juſtification from another calumny of common fame, about your having kidnapped one, who had been formerly a *Monk*, out of your *American* province, to deliver him here into the hands of his enemies; I ſay I have ſeen your

1688.

W. Popple to W. Penn.

* Tillotſon.

1688. your juſtification from that ſtory, under that perſon's own hand: and his return to *Pennſylvania*, where he now reſides, may be an irrefragable confutation of it, to any that will take the pains to enquire thereinto.

W. Popple to W. Penn.

" Really, it afflicts me very much, to conſider that all this does not ſuffice. If I had not that particular reſpect for you, which I ſincerely profeſs, yet I could not but be much affected, that any man, who had deſervedly acquired ſo fair a reputation, as you have formerly had, whoſe integrity and veracity had always been reputed ſpotleſs, and whoſe charity had been continually exerciſed in ſerving others, at the dear expence of his time, his ſtrength and his eſtate, without any other recompence than what reſults from the conſciouſneſs of doing good; I ſay, I could not but be much affected, to ſee any ſuch perſon fall innocently and undeſervedly under ſuch unjuſt reproaches, as you have done. It is an hard caſe; and I think, no man, that has any bowels of humanity, can reflect upon it, without great relentings.

" Since, therefore, it is ſo, and that ſomething remains yet to be done, ſomething more expreſs, and eſpecially more public, than has yet been done, for your vindication, I beg of you, dear Sir, by all the tender efficacy, that friendſhip, either mine, or that of your friends and relations together can have upon you, by the due regard, which humanity, and, even, Chriſtianity, obliges you to have to your reputation; by the duty, you owe unto the King, by your love to the land of your nativity; and by the cauſe of univerſal religion and eternal truth, let not the ſcandal of inſincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any longer upon you; but let the ſenſe of all theſe obligations perſwade you to gratify your friends and relations, and to ſerve your King, your country and your religion, by

by ſuch a public vindication of your honour, as your own prudence, upon theſe ſuggeſtions, will now ſhew you to be moſt neceſſary, and moſt expedient. I am, with unfeigned, and moſt reſpectful affection, 1688. W. Popple to W. Penn.

Honoured Sir,

Your moſt humble, and
moſt obedient ſervant.

"*London, October the* 20*th.* 1688."

The following is William Penn's *anſwer to the preceding letter*, viz.

"*Worthy Friend,*

"IT is now above twenty years, I thank God, that I have not been very ſolicitous what the world thought of me. For ſince I have had the knowledge of religion, from a *principle* in *myſelf*, the firſt and main point with me has been, to approve myſelf in the ſight of God, through patience and well-doing: So that the world has not had weight enough with me, to ſuffer its good opinion to raiſe me, or its ill opinion to deject me. And, if that had been the only motive, or conſideration, and not the deſire of a good friend, in the name of many others, I had been as ſilent to thy letter, as I uſe to be to the idle and malicious ſhams of the times: But, as the laws of friendſhip are ſacred, with thoſe that value that relation, ſo I confeſs this to be a principal one with me, not to deny a friend the ſatisfaction he deſires, when it may be done without offence to a good conſcience. W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

"The buſineſs chiefly inſiſted upon is my *Popery*, and endeavours to promote it. I do ſay, then, and that with all ſincerity, that I am not only no *Jeſuit*, but no *Papiſt*. And, which is more, I never had any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts, in my own mind, about the way I profeſs,

1688. profeſs, or from the diſcourſes, or writings of any of that religion. And, in the preſence of Almighty God, I do declare, that the King did never once, directly or indirectly attack me, or tempt me, upon that ſubject, the many years, that I have had the advantage of a free acceſs to him; ſo unjuſt, as well as ſordidly falſe, are all thoſe ſtories of the town.

W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

" The only reaſon, that I can apprehend, they have to repute me a *Roman Catholic*, is my frequent going to *White-Hall*, a place no more forbid to me, than to the reſt of the world, who yet, it ſeems, find much fairer quarter. I have almoſt continually had one buſineſs or other there for our Friends, whom I ever ſerved with a ſteady ſolicitation, through all times, ſince I was of their communion. I had alſo a great many perſonal good offices to do, upon a principle of charity, for people of all perſwaſions; thinking it a duty to improve the little intereſt I had, for the good of thoſe, that needed it, eſpecially the poor. I might add ſomething of my own affairs too; though I muſt own (if I may without vanity) that they have ever had the leaſt ſhare of my thoughts, or pains, or elſe they would not have ſtill depended as they yet do.

" But becauſe ſome people are ſo unjuſt, as to render inſtances for my *Popery* (or, rather hypocriſy, for ſo it would be in me) it is fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuſe me. I ſay, then, ſolemnly, that I am ſo far from having been bred at *St. Omer's*, and having received orders at *Rome*, that I never was at either place, nor do I know any body there; nor had I ever a correſpondency with any body, in thoſe places; which is another ſtory invented againſt me. And, as for my officiating in the King's chapel, or any other, it is ſo ridiculous, as well as untrue, that beſides that no body can do it, but a *Prieſt*, and that I have

have been married to a woman of ſome condition, above ſixteen years, which no Prieſt can be, by any diſpenſation whatever; I have not ſo much as looked into *any* chapel of the *Roman* religion, and conſequently not the King's, though common curioſity warrants it daily to people of all perſwaſions. 1688. W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

"And, once for all, I do ſay, that I am a *Proteſtant diſſenter*, and to that degree ſuch, that I challenge the moſt celebrated Proteſtant of the *Engliſh* church, or any other, on that head, be he Layman, or Clergyman, in public, or in private. For I would have ſuch people know, it is not impoſſible for a *true Proteſtant diſſenter* to be dutiful, thankful and ſerviceable to the *King*, though he be of the *Roman catholic communion*. We hold not our property, or protection, from him, by our perſwaſion; and, therefore, his perſwaſion ſhould not be the meaſure of our allegiance. I am ſorry to ſee ſo many, that ſeem fond of the reformed religion, by their diſaffection to him, recommend it ſo ill. Whatever practices of *Roman catholics* we might reaſonably object againſt (and no doubt but ſuch there are) yet he has diſclaimed and reprehended thoſe ill things, by his declared opinion againſt *perſecution*, by the eaſe, in which he actually indulges all diſſenters; and by the confirmation, he offers in Parliament, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, and liberty of conſcience. And, in his honour, as well as in my own defence, I am obliged, in conſcience, to ſay, that he has ever declared to me, *it was his opinion;* and on all occaſions, when Duke, he never refuſed me the repeated proofs of it, as often as I had any poor ſufferers for conſcience ſake to ſolicit his help for.

"But ſome may be apt to ſay, "Why not any body elſe as well as I? Why muſt I have the preferable acceſs to other diſſenters, if not a *Papiſt?*" I anſwer, I know not that it is ſo. But this I know, that

1688. that I have made it my province and buſineſs; I have followed and preſſed it; I took it for my calling and ſtation, and have kept it above theſe ſixteen years; and, which is more (if I may ſay it without vanity or reproach) wholly at my own charges too. To this let me add the relation, that my father had to this King's ſervice; his particular favour, in getting me releaſed out of the *Tower* of *London*, in 1669; my father's humble requeſt to him, upon his death bed, to protect me from the inconveniencies and troubles, my perſwaſion might expoſe me to, and his friendly promiſe to do it, and exact performance of it, from the moment, I addreſſed myſelf to him:—I ſay, when all this is conſidered, any body, that has the leaſt pretence to good nature, gratitude, or generoſity, muſt needs know how to interpret my acceſs to the *King*.

W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

"Perhaps, ſome will be ready to ſay, "This is not all, nor is this yet a fault, but, that I have been an adviſer in other matters, diſguſtful to the kingdom, and which tend to the overthrow of the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the people."—A likely thing, indeed, that a Proteſtant diſſenter, who, from fifteen years old, has been, at times, a ſufferer, in his father's family, in the univerſity, and by the government, for being ſo, ſhould deſign the *deſtruction* of the Proteſtant religion! This is juſt as probable, as it is true, that I died a *Jeſuit* ſix years ago, in *America*.* Will men ſtill ſuffer ſuch ſtuff to paſs upon them? Is any thing more fooliſh, as well as falſe, than that, becauſe I am often at *White-Hall*, therefore I muſt be the author of all, that is done there, which does not pleaſe abroad? But, ſuppoſing ſome ſuch things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppoſe any thing, that I am not called to do? I never was a member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom

* See page 246.

are

are tranſacted. I have had no office, or truſt, and conſequently nothing can be ſaid to be done by me; nor, for that reaſon, could I lie under any teſt, or obligation to diſcover my opinion of public acts of ſtate; and therefore neither can any ſuch acts, nor my ſilence about them, in juſtice, be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers, in all governments. And unleſs calling at *White-Hall* once a day, upon many occaſions, or my not being turned out of nothing (for that no office is) be the evidence of my compliance in diſagreeable things, I know not what elſe can, with any truth, be alledged againſt me. However, one thing I know, that I have every where moſt religiouſly obſerved, and endeavoured, in converſation, with perſons of all ranks and opinions, to allay heats, and moderate extremes, even, in the politics. It is below me to be more particular; but, I am ſure, it has been my endeavour, that, if we could not all meet upon a religious bottom, at leaſt, we might upon a civil one, the good of *England;* which is the common intereſt of King and people: That he might be great by juſtice, and we free by obedience, diſtinguiſhing rightly, on the one hand, between duty and ſlavery; and on the other, between liberty and licentiouſneſs. 1688. W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

" But, alas, I am not without my apprehenſions of the cauſe of this behaviour towards me, and in this, I perceive, we agree; I mean my conſtant zeal for an *impartial* liberty of conſcience. But, if that be it, the cauſe is too good to be in pain about. I ever underſtood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man's *choice*, is the religion of him that impoſes it: So that liberty of conſcience is the firſt ſtep to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have writ many apologies, within the laſt twenty years, to defend

1688. defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as conſtantly declared, that bounds ought to be ſet to this freedom, and that morality was the *beſt*; and that as often as that was violated, under a pretence of conſcience, it was fit the civil power ſhould take place. Nor did I ever once think of promoting any ſort of liberty of conſcience, for any body which did not preſerve the *common proteſtancy* of the kingdom, and the *ancient rights* of the government. For, to ſay truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.

W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

" Upon the whole matter, I muſt ſay, *I love England;* I ever did ſo; and that I am not in her debt. I never valued time, money, or kindred, to ſerve her and do her good. No party could ever biaſs me to her prejudice, nor any perſonal intereſt oblige me in her wrong. For I always abhorred diſcounting *private favours* at the *public coſt.*

" Would I have made my market of the fears and jealouſies of the people, when this King came to the crown, I had put twenty thouſand pounds into my pocket, and an hundred thouſand into my province; for mighty numbers of people were then upon the wing: But I waved it all; hoped for better times; expected the effects of the King's word, for liberty of conſcience, and happineſs by it: And till I ſaw my friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage, which penal laws, for religion, had ſubjected them to, I could, with no ſatisfaction, think of leaving *England;* though much to my prejudice beyond ſea; and at my great expence here; having, in all this time never had either office or penſion, and always refuſing the rewards, or gratuities, of thoſe, I have been able to oblige.

" If, therefore, an *univerſal charity*, if the aſſerting an *impartial liberty of conſcience*, if *doing to others as one would be done by*, and an *open avowing*, and

and ſteady *practiſing of theſe things*, in all times, to all parties, will juſtly lay a man under the reflection of being a *Jeſuit*, or a *Papiſt*, of any rank, I muſt not only ſubmit to the character, but embrace it too; and I care not who knows that I can wear it with more pleaſure, than it is poſſible for them, with any juſtice, to give it me. For theſe are corner-ſtones and principles with me; and I am ſcandalized at all buildings, that have them not for their foundations. For religion itſelf is an empty name without them, a whited wall, a painted ſepulchre, no *life* or *virtue* to the ſoul; no good, or example, to one's neighbour. Let us not flatter ourſelves, "We can never be the better for our religion, if our neighbour be the worſe for it." Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon ſpeculative errors, and break all bounds, in our reſentments; but we let practical ones paſs without remark, if not without repentance: As if a miſtake about an *obſcure propoſition of faith*, were a greater evil, than the breach of an undoubted precept. Such a religion the devils themſelves are not without; for they have both faith and knowledge; but their faith doth not work by love, nor their knowledge by obedience. And, if this be their judgment, can it be our bleſſing? Let us not think religion a litigious thing; nor that Chriſt came only to make us good diſputants; but, that he came alſo to make us good livers. Sincerity goes farther than capacity. It is *charity*, that deſervedly excels, in the Chriſtian religion; and happy would it be, if, where unity ends, charity did begin, inſtead of envy and railing, that almoſt ever follow. It appears to me to be the way, that God has found out and appointed, to moderate our differences, and make them, at leaſt, harmleſs to ſociety; and, therefore, I confeſs, I dare not aggravate them to wrath and blood. Our diſagreement lies in our *apprehenſion*, or

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W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

1688. or *belief* of things; and if the common enemy of mankind had not the governing of our affections and paſſions, that diſagreement would not prove ſuch a canker, as it is, to love and peace, in civil ſocieties.

W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

"He that ſuffers his difference with his neighbour, about the other world, to carry him beyond the line of moderation, in this, is the worſe for his *opinion*, even, though it be true. It is too little conſidered by *Chriſtians*, that men may hold the *truth* in *unrighteouſneſs;* that they may be *orthodox*, and not know what *ſpirit they are of:* So were the Apoſtles of our Lord; they believed in him, yet let a falſe *zeal* do violence to their judgment, and their unwarrantable *heat* contradict the great end of their Saviour's coming, *love*.

"Men may be angry for God's ſake, and kill people too. Chriſt ſaid it, and too many have practiſed it. But what ſort of Chriſtians muſt they be, I pray, that can *hate* in his name, who bids us *love;* and *kill* for his ſake, that forbids *killing*, and commands *love*, even, to enemies.

"Let not men, or parties, think to ſhift it off from themſelves. It is not this *principle*, or that *form*, to which ſo great a defection is owing, but a degeneracy of mind from God. Chriſtianity is not at *heart*. No fear of God in the inward parts: No awe of his divine omnipreſence. *Self* prevails, and breaks out, more or leſs, through all forms, but too plainly; (pride, wrath, luſt, avarice) ſo that though people ſay to God, *Thy will be done;* which ſhews them to be true heathens, under a maſk of Chriſtianity, that believe without works, and repent without forſaking; buſy for *forms*, and the temporal benefits of them, while *true religion*, which is, *To viſit the fatherleſs and the widow, and to keep ourſelves unſpotted from the world*, goes barefoot, and, like *Lazarus*, is deſpiſed. Yet this was the definition the Holy Ghoſt gave of religion, before

before *Synods* and *Councils* had the meddling with it, and modelling of it. In thoſe days, bowels were a good part of religion, and that to the fatherleſs and widow, at *large*. We can hardly now extend them to thoſe of our own way. It was ſaid by him, that could not ſay amiſs, *Becauſe iniquity abounds, the love of many waxeth cold.* Whatſoever divides man's heart from *God*, ſeparates it from his *neighbour;* and he, that loves *ſelf* more than *God*, can never love his *neighbour* as himſelf. For, as the Apoſtle ſaid, "If we do not love him, whom we have ſeen, how can we love God, whom we have not ſeen?" 1688. W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

"O, that we could ſee ſome men as eager to turn people to *God*, as they are to blow them up, and ſet them one againſt another. But, indeed, thoſe only can have that pure and pious zeal, who are themſelves turned to God, and have taſted the ſweetneſs of that converſion, which is to *power*, not *form;* to *godlineſs*, not *gain*. Such as thoſe do bend their thoughts and pains to appeaſe, not increaſe, heats and animoſities; to exhort people to look at home, ſweep their own houſes, and weed their own gardens. And, in no age, or time, was there more need to ſet men at work, in their own hearts, than this we live in, when ſo buſy, wandering, licentious a ſpirit prevails. For whatever ſome men may think, "The diſeaſe of this kingdom is *ſin;* impiety againſt *God*, and want of *charity* to men." And while this guilt is at our door, judgment cannot be far off.

"Now, this being the diſeaſe, I will briefly offer two things, for the cure of it.

"The firſt is *David's clean heart*, and *right ſpirit*, which he aſked and had of God: without this we muſt be a *chaos* ſtill. For the diſtemper is *within;* and our Lord ſaid, *All evil* comes from thence. Set the *inward man right*, and the *outward*

1688. *ward man cannot be wrong:* That is the helm, that governs the human veſſel: And this nothing can do, but an *inward principle*, the *light* and *grace*, that came by Chriſt; which the ſcripture tells us, *enlightens every one, and hath appeared to all men.*" It is prepoſterous to think, that *He*, who made the world, ſhould ſhew leaſt care of the beſt part of it, our *ſouls*. No, he, that gave us an outward luminary, for our bodies, hath given us an inward one, for our minds, to act by. We have it; and it is our condemnation, that we do not love it, and bring our deeds to it. It is by this we ſee our ſins, are made ſenſible of them, ſorry for them, and finally forſake them. And he, that thinks to go to Heaven a nearer way, will, I fear, belate his ſoul, and be irreparably miſtaken. There are but *goats* and *ſheep*, at laſt, whatever ſhapes we wear here. Let us not, therefore, dear friend, deceive ourſelves. Our ſouls are at ſtake: "God will not be mocked; what we ſow we muſt expect to reap. There is no repentance in the grave;" which ſhews, that, if none there, then no where elſe. To ſum up this divinity of mine; it is the *light* of *Jeſus*, in our ſouls, that gives us a true ſight of ourſelves, and that ſight that leads us to repentance; which repentance begets humility, and humility, that true *charity*, that covers a multitude of faults; which I call God's *expedient* againſt man's *infirmity*.

W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

"The ſecond remedy to our preſent diſtemper, is this; ſince all, of all parties, profeſs to believe in God, Chriſt, the Spirit, and Scripture; that the ſoul is immortal, that there are eternal rewards and puniſhments; and that the virtuous ſhall receive the one, and the wicked ſuffer the other; I ſay, ſince this is the common faith of Chriſtendom, let us all reſolve, in the ſtrength of God, to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out ſo miſerably, about the reſt, in which we differ. I am perſwaded

ded the change and comfort, which that pious courſe would bring us to, would go very far to diſpoſe our natures to compound eaſily for all the reſt; and we might hope yet to ſee happy days, in poor *England;* for there I would have ſo good a work begun. And how it is poſſible for the eminent men of every religious perſwaſion (eſpecially the preſent *miniſters* of the *pariſhes* of *England)* to think of giving an account to God, at the laſt day, without uſing the utmoſt of their endeavours to *moderate* the members of their reſpective communions towards thoſe, that differ from them, is a myſtery to me! But this I know, and muſt lay it at their doors, I charge alſo my own ſoul with it, "God requires *moderation* and *humility* from us;" for he is at hand, who will not ſpare to judge our *impatience*, if we have no patience for one another. The eternal God rebuke, I beſeech him, the wrath of man, and humble all under the ſenſe of the evil of this day; and yet, unworthy as we are, give us *peace*, for his holy Name's ſake! 1688. W. Penn's anſwer to W. Popple.

"It is now time to end this letter; and I will do it without ſaying any more than this: Thou ſeeſt my defence againſt popular calumny; thou ſeeſt what my thoughts are, of our condition, and the way to better it; and thou ſeeſt my hearty and humble prayer to Almighty God, to incline us to be wiſe, if it were but for our own ſakes. I ſhall only add, that I am extremely ſenſible of the kindneſs and juſtice, intended me by my friends, on this occaſion, and that I am, for that, and many more reaſons,

"*Thy obliged and affectionate Friend,*

"WILLIAM PENN.

"*Teddington, October the 24th.* 1688."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IX.

The Proprietary's preſence much needed in the province.—His letter to the Commiſſioners.—Thomas Lloyd.—Falſe alarm of an Indian inſurrection.—Names of the Members of Aſſembly, in 1687.*—Caleb Puſey.—Captain John Blackwell appointed Deputy Governor.—The Proprietary's inſtructions to him.—He meets the Aſſembly, diſagrees with the Council, and returns to England.—Names of ſome Members of Council, on whom the adminiſtration devolved;—with the cauſe and deſign of Blackwell's appointment.—Why William Penn may juſtly be called the Father of his country.—Two of his epiſtles to his Friends, the ſettlers there; with one to the Council.—Inſtitution of the firſt public Grammar-ſchool in Pennſylvania, with its deſign, &c.—George Keith, &c.*

1688. WHILE *William Penn* was thus variouſly and importantly employed in *England*, his province, as before obſerved, needed his preſence; and *Thomas Lloyd*, who ever ſince the Proprietary's departure, had chiefly preſided in the public affairs, and ſuſtained the weight and care of them, under the different appointments, excepting two ſhort intermiſſions, wherein *Thomas Holme* and *William Clark* ſupplied his abſence, wanted to be diſcharged from the burden; and, before this time had ſolicited to be releaſed, by the appointment of another perſon in his room: But a ſuitable perſon for ſuch an appointment was not eaſy to be found; and the Proprietary appears to have been ſenſible of it, by his manner of writing, at different times, to his friends

W. Penn wanted in hisprovince

T. Lloyd requeſts to be releaſed from public affairs.

friends in the province,* expreſſing his ardent de- 1688.
ſire for its proſperity, and to reſide in it himſelf;
in

* On this and ſome other things the Proprietor writ to the Commiſſioners in the following manner, dated the 27th. of the Tenth-month, 1687, *viz.*

" William Penn, Proprietor and Governor,

" To my truly and well-beloved friends, Thomas Lloyd, Robert Turner, John Eckle, John Simcock and Arthur Cook, commiſſioners of ſtate, for the province of *Pennſylvania*, or any three of them:—

" I ſalute you all with unfeigned love, and, in Chriſt Jeſus, wiſh you health and happineſs.—

" My laſt is by the ſame hand, this being ſent to the *Downs* after him, upon the receipt of Thomas Lloyd's and William Markham's letter: But I am heartily ſorry that I had no letter from the government: indeed I have hardly had one at all: and for private letters though from public perſons, I regard them but little; I mean as to taking my public meaſures by: for I find ſuch contradictions, as well as diverſity, that I believe, I may ſay, I am one of the unhappieſt Proprietaries, with one of the beſt people. If this had not been complained of in mine by Edward Blackſan, I ſhould have been leſs moved at this viſible incomplacency and neglect.—Had the government ſigned, I mean thoſe, who are the moſt eminent in authority, by conſent of the reſt, it had given me ſome eaſe and ſatisfaction; but, as it is, 'tis controverſy rather than government, which ſtands and lives and proſpers in unity, at leaſt of the governing part, whatever be their affections; for men may agree in duty, that diſlike one another's natural tempers.—I ſhall henceforth, therefore, expect letters from the government, recounting the affairs of it, that they may be authoritative to me; and as many private ones as you pleaſe beſides; for that I alſo, rejoice in, and any particular advice, that may inform me, as to the public, or remedy what may be amiſs, or meliorate what is, in itſelf, well, will alſo be very acceptable to me.

" Now I have ſaid this, I cannot but condole the loſs of ſome ſtandards, in the province, honeſt men, and of good underſtandings, in their kind. The Lord avert his judgments, and conſtrain all, by his viſitations, to amend, be it in converſation, or be it in peace, concord and charity; they that live near to God, will live far from themſelves; and from the ſenſe they have of his nearneſs and majeſty, have a low opinion of themſelves; and out of that low and humble frame of ſpirit it is, that true charity grows; the moſt excellent way;—Ah! what ſhall I ſay, there can be no union, no comfortable ſociety without it: Oh, that the people of my province, and parts annexed; felt this gracious quality abounding in them, my work would be done, and their praiſe and my joy unſpeakably abound to us; wherefore, in the name and fear of God, let all old ſores be forgotten, as well as forgiven: ſhut out the remembrance of them, and preach this doctrine to the people, in my name, yea, in the king's name, and his that is greater above all, *viz.* God Almighty's name.

" I am ſorry that *Thomas Lloyd*, my eſteemed friend, covets a *Quietus*, that is young, active and ingenious; for from ſuch it is, that I expect help; and ſuch will not ſow, I hope, in vain; but ſince 'tis his deſire I do hereby ſignify his *diſmiſs* from the trouble he has borne, (for ſome time of reſt and eaſe, at leaſt) and do nominate, to be commiſſionated in my name, under the great ſeal, till further order, *Samuel Carpenter*,

1688. in one of which to *Thomas Lloyd*, about this time, are the following expreſſions, *viz.*—"No honour, intereſt, or pleaſure, in this part of the world, ſhall be able to check my deſires to live and die among you; and, though to my grief, my ſtay is yet prolonged, on private and public accounts, yet, depend upon it, *Pennſylvania* is my worldly delight, and end of all places on the earth.

W. Penn longs to be in Pennſylvania.

"Now, though I have, to pleaſe thee, given thee a *quietus* from all public buſineſs, my intention is to conſtitute thee Deputy Governour, and two, in the character of aſſiſtants; either of whom and thyſelf, to be able to do all as fully as I my ſelf can do; only I wait thy conſent to the employment;

penter, who, I hope will accept, and induſtriouſly ſerve that ſtation, elſe *Thomas Ellis;* who has an office, that requires his attendance, having one in my eye, that may ſee you ſhortly, as a man richly qualified for that ſtation: *Robert Turner*, of courſe has the Chair, for the firſt month after the receipt of this, and the reſt alternately, monthly, if you find that convenient, as, I believe, it will be moſt eaſy, elſe let the ſenior commiſſioner have it always.

"I have only to recommend to you, the due execution of the divers good laws, among you, impartially and diligently, not neglecting the order, from hence ſent, eſpecially for peace and concord.—Government is not to make, but to do and diſpatch buſineſs; in which few words, and a quiet, but a briſk execution does beſt; wherefore conſider well what is juſt and fit, the one in law, the other in prudence (where you have room to uſe it) purſue in all caſes; and no matter what any ſay, or object.

"I writ to you about my *Quit-rents:* I am forced to pay bills here, to ſupport my family there, while I have 4 or 500 pounds per annum in *Quit-rents* there; you may remember the votes of Council, to pay my charges in this expedition: I could draw a large bill upon the provincial council, in that reſpect; I am ſure I need it, but have forebore; though it is none of the endearingeſt conſiderations, that I have not had the preſent of a ſkin, or a pound of tobacco ſince I came over: though they are like to have the moſt advantage by it, and promiſed me ſo much!—

"Pray, prevent people's withdrawing from us, what you can; they cannot mend themſelves; and they that go will find it ſo, in a while; for I believe, *God has bleſſed that poor place;* and the reaſon of my ſtay here, and the ſervice I am, and have been of, to the conſcientious, ſhall be rewarded on my ſolitary province.—Remember me to the people, and let them know, my heart's deſire towards them; and ſhall embrace the firſt opportunity to make my abode with them.

"Once more, let me hear from you, and have a copy of the laws, as my other letter directs, and you ſhall ſoon hear from me to your content; ſo I bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at *Holland-houſe*, this 27th. of the Tenth-month, 1687.

ployment; of which adviſe me," &c.——" by all that is reverent, tender and friendly, I beſeech thy care, condeſcenſion and help, for that poor province. I am here ſerving God and friends, and the *nation;* which I hope God will reward to mine and you," &c. 1688.

He is importantly employ'd in England.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrict friendſhip, and good diſpoſition, which, from the beginning, had been wiſely cultivated and eſtabliſhed by the Proprietary and inhabitants, or firſt ſettlers, of the province, with the *Indians*, and, afterwards purſued in ſuch manner, as to leave no reaſonable cauſe for fears and ſuſpicions between them; yet, as in all countries wickedly diſpoſed perſons are found, whoſe delight is, if poſſible, to diſturb the public tranquillity; ſo we find, in the infancy of this colony, when juſtice, peace and harmony ſo univerſally predominated, it was poſſible, nevertheleſs, for idle reports, and vain rumours to take place, and gain ſo far on unguarded minds, as to create very alarming apprehenſions, reſpecting the *Indians*;— the conſideration of their large numbers, at that time, in proportion to the fewneſs of the *European* ſettlers, rather favouring ſuch apprehenſions; of which we have the following inſtance.

Of an Indian alarm.

In, or about, the year 1688, the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, and places adjacent, were alarmed with

In 1687, Third month,—the names of the Members of Aſſembly were;

For Philadelphia.	*For Bucks.*	*For Cheſter.*
Humphrey Morrey,	Thomas Langhorne,	John Blunſton,
William Salway,	Robert Hall,	George Maris,
John Bevan,	Nicholas Walne,	Bartholo. Coppock,
Laſſe Cock,	Robert Lucas,	Caleb Puſey,
Daniel Paſtorius,	Henry Baker,	Edward Bezar,
Joſeph Paul.	Edward Bennet.	Randel Vernon.
For New Caſtle.	*For Kent.*	*For Suſſex.*
Johannes Dehaes,	John Brinkloe,	Luke Watſon,
Edward Blake,	William Berry,	Henry Smith,
Valen. Hollingſworth,	Richard Wilſon,	Henry Moleſtine,
John White, *Speaker*,	Thomas Pemberton,	Henry Bowman,
John Darby,	William Freeland,	Samuel Gray,
Richard Noble.	Benoni Biſhop.	Henry Stretcher.

1688. with the report of an intended inſurrection of the *Indians*, to cut off all the *Engliſh*, on a certain appointed day. This was communicated by two *Indian* women of *Weſt-Jerſey*, to an old *Dutch* inhabitant, near *Cheſter*, to be on the next fourth day of the week. Several *Friends* or *Quakers*, upon hearing this report, being conſcious of their juſt conduct towards the *Indians*, and ſenſible of nothing that could reaſonably diſguſt them, endeavoured to appeaſe the people's fears. The ſaid fourth day being come, about ten o'clock, in the night, a meſſenger arrived at *Cheſter*, out of the woods, and told the people, that three families, about nine miles diſtant, which he named, were all cut off by the *Indians*.—This report coming to a *Friend*, then at *Cheſter*, about midnight he took with him two young men, on horſeback, to the place, in order to examine into the truth of the affair.—They found the three houſes, but no body in them, and yet no ſigns of murder;—their inhabitants, alarmed in a ſimilar manner, had fled to the houſes of their parents, at *Ridley* creek, about a mile from thence. The maſter of one of theſe families, being from home, had been informed five hundred *Indians* were actually collected at *Naaman's* creek, in purſuit of their deſign, to kill the *Engliſh;* and as he was haſtening to his houſe, he thought he heard his boy crying out, and ſaying, "*What ſhall I do, my Dame is killed!* Upon which, inſtead of going home, to know the certainty of the affair, he ran off, to acquaint the government, at *Philadelphia;* but being met by a perſon of more prudence than himſelf, before he got to the city, he was perſwaded by him to return.—

An Indian alarm, &c.

The report notwithſtanding ſoon arrived at the city; and was told with ſuch alarming circumſtances, that a meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to *Marcus Hook*, near the ſaid *Naaman's* creek to enquire the truth of it. He quickly returned

turned and confirmed the report, but with this variation; that it was at *Brandywine* creek, at an *Indian* town, where the five hundred *Indians* were aſſembled; and, that they, having a lame king, had carried him away, with all their women and children. Theſe circumſtances rendered the affair ſtill more alarming, and, with many, amounted to a certainty. 1688. An Indian alarm, &c.

The Council were, at that time, ſitting at *Philadelphia* on other affairs, when one of them, a *Friend*, ſuppoſed to be *Caleb Puſey*,* who lived in *Cheſter* county, voluntarily offered himſelf to go to the place, provided they would name five others to accompany him, without weapons; which being ſoon agreed on, they rode to the place; but, inſtead of meeting with five hundred warriors, they found the *old king* quietly lying, with his lame foot along on the ground, and his head, at eaſe, on a kind of pillow, the women at work, in the field, and the children playing together.—

When they had entered the *wigwam*, the king preſently aſked them very mildly, "*What they all came for?*" They told him the report, which the *Indian* women had raiſed; and aſked him, whether the *Indians* had any thing againſt the *Engliſh?* He appeared much diſpleaſed at the report and ſaid, "The women ought to be burnt to death; and that they had nothing againſt the *Engliſh;*"—adding, "'Tis true there are about fifteen pounds yet behind

* *Caleb Puſey* came from *London* to *Pennſylvania*, with his family, in 1682; and from that time till his death, near 45 years, was a very uſeful and valuable member of ſociety, both religious and civil. He was long one of the Provincial and Governor's council; and divers times in the Aſſembly:—He is ſaid to have been a man of good example, both in public and private life; and eſteemed a worthy Elder among his friends the *Quakers*.—By his care, part of the materials, from which this hiſtory of Pennſylvania is compoſed, were preſerved;—being a man of good underſtanding and abilities, in divers reſpects; and in the relation of a neighbour, huſband, parent, maſter and friend, had particularly an amiable character. He lived in *Cheſter* county; and died in the Twelfth month, 1725, in the 76th. year of his age.

1688. behind of our pay for the land, which *William Penn* bought, but as you are ſtill on it, and improving it, to your own uſe, we are not in haſte for our pay; but when the *Engliſh* come to ſettle it, we expect to be paid."—This, the meſſengers, thinking very reaſonable, told him, they would undoubtedly be paid for their land.—

An Indian alarm, &c.

One of the company further expreſſed himſelf to the *Indian* king, in the following manner; "That the great God, who made the world, and all things therein, conſequently made all mankind, both Indians and Engliſh; and as he made all, ſo his love was extended to all; which, was plainly ſhewn, by his cauſing the *rain* and *dews* to fall on the ground of both *Indians* and *Engliſh* alike; that it might equally produce what the *Indians*, as well as what the *Engliſh* ſowed or planted in it, for the ſuſtenance of life; and alſo by his making the ſun to ſhine equally on all, both *Indians* and *Engliſh*, to nouriſh them; and that ſeeing the great *Being*, which made them all, extended his love thus to all, ſo they were mutually bound to love one another."—

The king anſwered, "What they had ſaid was true; and as God has given you corn, I would adviſe you to get it in; (it being then harveſt time) for we intend you no harm."—They parted amicably; and the meſſengers, returning, put an end to the people's fears.

Appointment of Lieutenant Governor Blackwell.

In conſequence of *Thomas Lloyd's* requeſt, to be releaſed from the public affairs of the government, in the latter part of the year 1688, he was accordingly ſucceeded by Captain *John Blackwell;** who arrived

* *Blackwell's* wife was general *Lambert's* daughter; ſhe, coming to *William Penn*, on other buſineſs, ſoon after he received this application from *Thomas Lloyd*, was aſked by him, whether ſhe thought her huſband (who was then in *New England*, and for whom *William Penn*, by ſome of his letters, ſeems to have had a great eſteem) would accept of the government of *Pennſylvania?*—She anſwered, "*He would.*" A commiſſion was therefore ſent him, with the following inſtructions, *viz.*

arrived in the Tenth-month this year; whom the Proprietary had commiſſioned to be his Lieutenant Governor. He was a perſon, whom *William Penn* ſeems to have highly eſteemed; and, at the time of his appointment, was in *New England*. 1688.

Blackwell

(*L. S.*) "Inſtructions for Lieutenant Governor *Blackwell*, or whom elſe they may concern.

I. "THAT things be tranſacted in my name, by the ſtyle of my patent only, viz. *Abſolute Proprietary of Pennſylvania*, &c. if not contrary to the charter and laws of the Province, as I ſuppoſe not.

II. "That commiſſions ſigned and ſealed by me here ſhall be ſufficient warrants and directions to paſs them under the great ſeal.

III. "To collect the laws, that are in being, and ſend them over to me, in a ſtitched book, by the very firſt opportunity; which I have hitherto often, and ſo much, in vain, deſired.

IV. "To be careful that ſpeedy, as well as thorough and impartial juſtice be done; and virtue, in all, cheriſhed, and vice, in all, puniſhed.

V. "That fines be in proportion, both to the fault and ability of the party, that ſo they may be paid.

VI. "That feuds between perſwaſions, or nations, or countries, be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed, if any be; and, if none, that by a good conduct, they may be prevented.

VII. "That the widow, orphan, and abſent may be particularly regarded, in their rights; for their cry will be loudeſt in all ears; but, by abſent, I mean ſuch as are ſo of neceſſity.

VIII. "To countenance the Commiſſioners of property, where land is unſeated, or people are unruly in their ſettlements, or comply not with reaſonable obligations, about bounds, banks, timber, &c. For though we come to a wilderneſs, it was not that we ſhould continue it ſo.

IX. "That the Sheriffs of their reſpective counties be charged with the receipt of my rents, fines, &c. as they do in *England*, and give ſecurity to the Receiver General, for the ſame.

X. "To have a ſpecial care, that Sheriffs and clerks of the peace impoſe not upon the people; and that the magiſtrates live peaceably and ſoberly;—for I could not endure one looſe, or litigious perſon in authority.—Let them be men having ſome fear of God, and hating covetouſneſs, whatever be their perſwaſion: to employ others is to profane an ordinance of God.

XI. "That care be taken of the roads, and high-ways, in the country; that they may be ſtraight and commodious for travellers; for I underſtand, they are turned about by the planters; which is a miſchief, that muſt not be endured.

XII. "Conſider by what means, or methods, the good and proſperity of the plantation may be promoted; what laws, in being, are unneceſſary, or defective, and what are wanting; and in each particular hereof, let me have advice as diſtinctly, and as ſpeedily as may be.

XIII. "Rule the meek meekly; and thoſe that will not be ruled, rule with authority; and God Almighty proſper all honeſt and prudent endeavours.

"Given at *London*, this 25th. of the Seventh-month, 1688.

"WILLIAM PENN."

1689. *Blackwell* met the Aſſembly in the Third-month 16[8]9; but, by reaſon of ſome miſunderſtanding, or diſſenſion, between him and ſome of the Council, the public affairs were not managed with the deſired harmony and ſatisfaction; and but little done during his adminiſtration, which continued only till the Twelfth-month this year, when he returned to *England;** and the government of the province, according to charter, devolved again on the Council, *Thomas Lloyd*, Preſident.

Governor Blackwell diſagrees with the Council & returns to England.

Elected 2mo. 11th. 1690.

Reaſons for Blackwell's appointment, &c.

The appointment of *Blackwell*, who was no *Quaker*, to be Deputy Governor, appears, by the Proprietary's letters to his friends, in the province, to have been, becauſe no ſuitable perſon, who was of that ſociety, would undertake the office; that his views thereby were more for the public good, than his own private intereſt; which, he declares, he was ſorry were not anſwered according to his expectation; and that notwithſtanding he was apprehenſive occaſion had been given by ſome particulars, in the province, for this miſunderſtanding, yet, that he had duly regarded their complaints, and afforded them ſuitable relief.

Cicero

* *William Penn*, in a letter to one of his friends in *Pennſylvania*, dated the 30th. of the Tenth-month, 1689, reſpecting the appointment, &c. of Governor *Blackwell*, declares,

——"Since no *Friend* would undertake the Governor's place, I took one that was not, and a ſtranger; that he might be impartial, and more reverenced: He is, in *England* and *Ireland*, of great repute, for ability, integrity and virtue; I thought I did well; it was for good; the Lord knows it, and no end of my own. You ſee what I have done upon the complaints; but I muſt ſay, I fear his peeviſhneſs to ſome Friends has not riſen out of the duſt, without occaſion, if any where, let it be ſearched out and judged: the Lord keep us all in the gentle mind that is eaſy to be entreated," &c.—"Bear with me, God knows, if I love you, or no, or deſire my lot to be with you;"—"I have ſought the province more than myſelf," &c.

Of the active members of Council, about the time of *Blackwell's* adminiſtration, appear the following names, *viz.*

John Simcock,
William Clark,
Arthur Cook,
William Stockdale,
William Yardly,
Luke Watſon,
John Cann,
Samuel Richardſon
Griffith Jones,
Thomas Duckett,
Griffith Owen,
John Briakloe,
Johannes Dehaes.

Cicero was juſtly called the father of his country, for preſerving it from the deſigns of a moſt deteſtable rebellion, but *William Penn*, with ſtill greater propriety, may be ſtyled the parent of his: In that he not only planted it with induſtry and virtue, and endowed it with a generous and excellent conſtitution, but with unremitted care and aſſiduity, he alſo cheriſhed it with the beſt and moſt affectionate advice and inſtruction;* tending more

1689.

W. Penn may juſtly be ſtyled Father of his country.

* The following, which he writ them this year, are ſpecimens of this kind, *viz.*

" *My dear Friends and Brethren,*

" IF it be with you, as I can ſay it is with me, in the preſence of God, then are we one in him; for neither length of days, nor diſtance of place, nor all the many waters, between us, can ſeparate my heart and affection from you: but my love, yea, the love of God, my Father, and your Father, abounds towards you, with endeared ſalutations to you all, and an holy kiſs in *Chriſt:* and for you, and the bleſſing of you and yours, with grace, peace and proſperity, are my knees bowed to the God of all our mercies and preſervations; that an holy, blameleſs people, without guile and wrath, brawling and ſelfiſhneſs, you may be made and kept, in all things; that God may ſpread his great Name over you, and a make wall of defence about you, and create a glory upon the ſame, to your unſpeakable joy, and the renown of his own great power. For this my eyes have beheld under the ſun, that all is vanity, in compariſon of him; and that happy and bleſſed is that people, whoſe God is the Lord: for the nation, or province, upon the earth, that will not reverence him, and call, in righteouſneſs, upon him, and, in all their undertakings, have his glory firſt in their eye, ſhall be cut off: He will vex, viſit and trouble that people, that they may know he ruleth in the kingdoms of men. Wherefore, the Lord guide you, by his own ſpirit, and preſerve you a lively, green and ſavory people to his praiſe.

" Great revolutions have been, of late, in this land of your nativity; and where they may period, the Lord knows. It can be no new thing for us, to meet with exerciſes. *Europe* looks like a ſea of trouble.—Wars all over it like to be this Summer.—I ſtrongly deſire to ſee you, before it be ſpent, if the Lord will; and I can ſay in his ſight, that, to improve my intereſt with King *James*, for tender conſciences, and that a *Chriſtian liberty might be legally ſettled*, though *againſt my own intereſt*, was that which has ſeparated me from you chiefly —I deſire your remembrance before the Lord; as you are not, and cannot be, forgotten, in my addreſſes and approaches to him; who reſt in his unchangeable love, dear friends and brethren, your's unalterably, in the communion of the bleſſed truth,

" WILLIAM PENN.

" *The 2d. of the Firſt-month*, 1689."

" *Hammerſmith, the 30th. of the Tenth-month*, 1689.

" *Dear Friends,*

" I cannot ſlip this opportunity; but ſend you the endeared ſalutations of my love, that, in the truth, gives me frequent occaſions to remember you, and earneſtly deſire your preſervation to God, as well as your

1689. more effectually to fix and confirm that bond of love and affection, between him and his people, upon

your comfort and prosperity in outward things; about which have a care, that they grow not too fast upon you, nor too many for you; I mean, as to the care and concerns, that attend them, in the exercise of your spirits: for it is a blessed state, to enjoy and use of the world, in the dominion of his life and power, that has quickened us, by his light and spirit a people to himself: for, in this stands all our peace and blessedness, that God be eyed, in the first place, that we set him on our right hand; that we set him continually before our eyes; and that our eye be directed towards him, in all things, as the eye of a handmaid to her mistress; that we may be able to say, in truth and righteousness, we have none in Heaven, but him, nor any on earth, besides him. This it is, that keeps God's people every where; for hereby they put on Christ, in all his blessed teachings and leadings, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof: Friends, *they are deep words*, and *deeper things*.—I know you understand me, and I hope you feel me, who have your eyes to the mark, and look to the joy before you, that is above all things, in this momentary, troublesome and busy world.—And, now, friends, I have a word more to you; and that is this, that faith, hope and charity are the great helps and marks of true *Christians;* but above all *charity* is the love of God, or divine love;—blessed are they, that are come to it and hold the truth in it, and work and act in it; for they, poor indeed in spirit, of their own, but rich in God's;—they are meek;—they inherit;—all other states are a brangle, in comparison; but this enjoys;—this possesses; this reigns! O, come into this love more and more; for to this shall all gifts and operations give place; and they do so, in the hearts of those, that are come to know *Charity* greatest in them.—It will preserve peace in the church;—peace in the state;—peace in families, aye, and peace in particular bosoms. God Almighty draw, I beseech him, all your hearts into this heavenly love more and more, and that the work of it may shine out, to God's glory and your comfort.

"For matters here;—as to myself, I am well and free;—and for the church of God, liberty continues. But, in the nations of *Europe*, great wars, and rumours of wars, such as have not been almost from the beginning. Suns are turning into darkness, and moons into blood; for the noteable day is at the door.—It could not he born for some of you, when you went for *America*, that such a day should come; but coming it is; for almost every eye sees it, and tongue says it; some thousands, alas! have already felt it. Sanctify, therefore, the Lord, in your hearts; be satisfied in him, in your lot; and walk worthy of his daily mercy and attendance upon you, and care over you, and the Lord keep you to the end. I am, in truth, that makes us near to God, and one to another,

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

In this year likewise I find the following copy of a letter from the Proprietor, said to be read in Council, dated, *London*, the 12th. of the Sixth-month, 1689, viz.

"*Friends*,

"I heartily wish you all well, and beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit upon my further stop, in these parts, to throw all into your hands; that you may all see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment. I do earnestly press your constant attendance upon the

upon the moſt certain and laſting foundation; which is the beſt preſervative againſt all diſorders:—He treated them as beloved children; while they regarded him as a tender father: This, in part, appears, by his various epiſtles of this nature, beſides thoſe reſpecting the more temporal concerns of the province; which, from time to time, he writ to them, during his life; and in a language more pathetic and endearing, it is impoſſible for the moſt affectionate parent to addreſs his beloved offspring; of theſe that are yet extant, I find ſeveral this year; a ſpecimen of which appears below, in the notes. 1689. W. Penn's affection.

The year 1689 gave riſe to the *Friends' public ſchool*, in *Philadelphia;* which afterwards, in the year 1697, upon the petition of *Samuel Carpenter*, *Edward Shippen*, *Anthony Morris*, *James Fox*, *David Lloyd*, *William Southby* and *John Jones*, in behalf of themſelves and others, to Deputy *Markham*, was firſt incorporated by charter; and, after that, confirmed by a freſh patent from *William Penn*, dated the 25th. of October 1701; and alſo by another, dated the 22d. of the Fifth-month 1708; whereby the corporation was, "*For ever thereafter to conſiſt of fifteen diſcreet and religious perſons,* Riſe of the Friends' School in Philadelphia, &c.

the government, and the diligent purſuit of peace and virtue; and God Almighty ſtrengthen your hands, in ſo good a work. I alſo recommend to you the particular diſcipline of that town you meet in: that ſobriety and gravity be maintained, and authority kept in reſpect.—As it comes in your way, countenance my officers in collecting my ſmall revenue.—Let the laws, you paſs, hold ſo long only as I ſhall not declare my diſſent; that ſo my ſhare may not lye excluded, or finally concluded, without my notice; in fine, let them be confirmable by me, as you will ſee by the commiſſion I left, when I left the province.—And if you deſire a Deputy Governor, rather name three, or five, and I ſhall name one of them;—ſo as you conſider of a comfortable ſubſiſtence; that the government may not go a begging.—I do not do this, to lye a binding precedent, but to give you, and the people you repreſent, the fulleſt pledges I am able, at this diſtance, of my regard to them. Whatever you do, I deſire, beſeech and charge you all to avoid factions and parties, whiſperings and reportings, and all animoſities; that, putting your common ſhoulders to the public work, you may have the reward of good men and patriots; and ſo I bid you heartily farewell.

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Given at *London*, this 12th. of the Sixth-month, 1689."

1689. Of Friends School. *perſons, of the people called Quakers, by the name of, The Overſeers of the public ſchool, found in Philadelphia, at the requeſt, coſt and charges of the people called Quakers;*" but its laſt and preſent charter, from *William Penn*, confirming all the preceding charters, and further extending the corporation, with larger powers and privileges, &c. is dated the 29th. of November, 1711; wherein the Overſeers, nominated and appointed, were *Samuel Carpenter*, the elder, *Edward Shippen*, *Griffith Owen*, *Thomas Story*, *Anthony Morris*, *Richard Hill*, *Iſaac Norris*, *Samuel Preſton*, *Jonathan Dickinſon*, *Nathan Stanbury*, *Thomas Maſters*, *Nicholas Waln*, *Caleb Puſey*, *Rowland Ellis* and *James Logan;* by which charter the Overſeers were afterwards to be choſen by the corporation.

Its deſign. This was the firſt inſtitution of the kind, in *Pennſylvania*, intended not only to facilitate the acquiſition of the more generally uſed parts of learning, among all ranks, or degrees, of the people, (the poorer ſort being taught gratis, and the rich, or more wealthy, ſtill paying a proportion for their children's inſtruction) but alſo the better, and more extenſively to promote a virtuous and learned education, than could be affected by any other manner, was the end of the deſign: Which, in the preamble to the ſaid preſent charter, is thus expreſſed, *viz.*—

"*Whereas*, the proſperity and welfare of any people depend, in great meaſure, upon the good education of youth, and their early introduction in the principles of true religion and virtue, and qualifying them to ſerve their country and themſelves, by breeding them in reading, writing, and learning of languages, and uſeful arts and ſciences, ſuitable to their ſex, age and degree; which cannot be affected, in any manner, ſo well as by erecting *public ſchools*, for the purpoſes aforeſaid." &c.

For

For theſe laudable purpoſes, therefore, a number of the principal inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, being *Quakers*, in the Fifth-month this year, agreed with *George Keith*, who then reſided at *Freehold* (now called *Monmouth*) in *New Jerſey*, to undertake the charge. He accordingly removed to *Philadelphia*, and was the firſt maſter of that ſchool; but continued only about one year.* 1689.

* "*George Keith* was a native of *Aberdeen*, in *Scotland*, a man of learning, and had been of note among the *Quakers*, &c. (of which ſee more hereafter.) He came to *Eaſt Jerſey* divers years before this time; was afterwards Surveyor-general of that diviſion; and, in 1687, he aſcertained and marked the line of diviſion between *Eaſt* and *Weſt Jerſey*. His ſalary for officiating in this ſchool, was fifty pounds per annum, with a houſe for his family to live in, a ſchool-houſe provided, and the profits of the ſchool beſide, for one year. For two years more his ſchool was to be made worth one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, if he thought fit to ſtay ſo long; he was to teach the poor gratis. He continued in this ſtation about one year, and then his uſher, *Thomas Makin*, was, at his deſire, appointed to ſucceed him, &c.

Note.—The terms for teaching, &c. here, in early time, appear by the following extract from the journals of Council, *viz.*

"Tenth-month 26th. 1683, *Enoch Flower* undertakes to teach ſchool in the town of *Philadelphia*, on the following terms, *viz.*

"To learn to read *Engliſh*, four ſhillings by the quarter; to write, ſix ſhillings by ditto; to read, write and caſt accounts, eight ſhillings by the quarter: boarding a ſcholar, that is to ſay, diet, lodging, waſhing and ſchooling, ten pounds for one whole year."

Note.—Enoch Flower is ſaid to have come from Corſham in Wiltſhire.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER X.

William Penn's troubles and difficulties after the revolution in England.—He is prevented by his enemies from viſiting and aſſiſting the province in a time of its greateſt need.—Extract from his letter to Thomas Lloyd.—His epiſtle to his friends in London.—Diſagreement between the province and territories.—Declaration of the Council, and other proceedings relating to the difference.—Names of the members of Aſſembly, in 1690.—Two Deputy Governors.—The Proprietor's concern at this difference.—Extract from one of his letters, reſpecting it.—Further proceedings of the province.—A promulgated bill.—Names of ſome members of Council.—A letter of the two Deputies and their Councils to the Proprietary, &c.

W. Penn's affairs about the time of the revolution in 1688 &c.

IT has already been obſerved, that, during moſt of the time ſince the Proprietary's return to *England*, in 1684, much of his public action and ſervice were in that nation; and that his intimacy at court, and friendſhip with King *James* the Second, which his great obligation to that royal family, and the ſituation of his own affairs may, both from gratitude and intereſt, eaſily account for, expoſed him to many unjuſt cenſures; but in the year 1688, upon the change of government, the ſtate of his affairs there began to have a very different, and more unfavourable aſpect:—For the attempts which had been made by the King, in favour of *popery* and *arbitrary power*, had occaſioned the meaſures of the *revolution*, which now began to take place in the government there, by means

means of the *Prince of Orange*, "who landed at *Torbay*, in *Devonshire*, on the fifth of November, 1688, to the great joy of the *English* nation. Many of King *James's* officers and army soon joined the *Prince;* and the King, perceiving the hearts of the people alienated from him, withdrew himself, and went over to *France*. Hence by a *Convention*, called shortly after, the said *Prince of Orange*, and the *Princess Mary*, his consort, King *James's* daughter, were declared King and Queen of *England*, &c. and were proclaimed on the thirteenth of February, 1688-9.

W. Penn's affairs about the time of the revolution in 1688 &c.

"Upon this turn of the times, *William Penn's* late friendship at court having rendered him suspected of disaffection to the present government, on the tenth of December, 1688, when he was walking in *White-Hall*, he was sent for by the Lords of the Council, then sitting; and though nothing appeared against him, and himself assured them,—"That he had done nothing, but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country, and the Protestant religion above his life, and never acted against either; that all he ever aimed at, in his public endeavours, was no other than what the *Prince* himself had declared for; that King *James* was always his friend, and in gratitude, he was the King's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest."—Notwithstanding they obliged him to give securities for his appearance the first day of the *next term*, which he did; and then he was continued, on the same security, to *Easter-term* following; on the last day of which, nothing having been laid to his charge, he was cleared in open court.

"In the year 1690, he was again brought before the Lords of the Council, upon an accusation of holding a correspondence with the late King *James;* and they requiring sureties for his appear-

ance,

W. Penn's affairs about the time of the revolution in 1688 &c.

ance, he appealed to King *William* himſelf; who, after a conference of near two hours, inclined to acquit him, but, to pleaſe ſome of the Council, he was held upon bail, for a while; and, in *Trinity-term*, the ſame year, was again diſcharged.

"He was attacked a third time, and his name inſerted in a proclamation, dated July the 18th. 1690; wherein he, with divers others, to the number of eighteen, were charged with adhering to the kingdom's enemies; but proof failing, reſpecting him, he was again cleared by order of the *King's-bench Court*, at *Weſtminſter*, in the laſt day of *Michaelmas-term*, 1690.

"Being now again at liberty, he propoſed to go a ſecond time to *Pennſylvania*, and publiſhed propoſals in print, for another ſettlement there. He had ſo far prepared for this tranſportation that an order for a convoy was granted him by the Secretary of State, when his voyage was prevented by a freſh accuſation againſt him, backed with the oath of one *William Fuller*, a wretch, afterwards by Parliament declared a *cheat and impoſtor;* and a warrant was thereupon granted, for his apprehenſion; which he narrowly eſcaped, at his return from the funeral of *George Fox*, the firſt preacher among the *Quakers*, on the 16th. of January, 1690-1."*

Though

* *W. Penn*, in a letter to *Thomas Lloyd*, dated, "*England*, the 14th. of the Fourth-month, 1691," writes on this ſubject, as follows:—

"*Dear Friend*,

"My love, in the unchangeable truth, ſalutes thee and thine, and the friends and family of God, in thoſe parts, deſiring your temporal and everlaſting welfare, with an unfeigned affection.

"By this time thou wilt have heard of the renewal of my troubles, the only let of my return, being in the midſt of my preparations, with a *great company of adventurers*, when they fell upon me.—The jealouſies of ſome, and unworthy dealing of others have made way for them; but under and over it all, the ancient rock has been my ſhelter and comfort; and I hope yet to ſee your faces, with our ancient ſatisfaction.—The Lord grant, if it be for his glory, whoſe I deſire to be, in all conditions; for this world paſſeth away, and the form and beauty of it fadeth; but there are eternal habitations for the faithful; among whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than among the princes of the earth.

Though *William Penn* had hitherto defended himſelf before the King and Council, yet he now thought it more prudent to retire, than to hazard the ſacrificing of his *innocence* to the *oaths* of a *profligate villain;* accordingly after an expenſive preparation for a large embarkation of freſh coloniſts for *America*, he was not only obliged to deſiſt therefrom, and, at a moſt critical and neceſſitous time, in the affairs of his young country to decline furniſhing a large increaſe to its inhabitants, and thoſe means, for its further regulation, eſtabliſhment 1690.

W. Penn obliged to retire in private, &c.

To the great diſadvantage of his affairs, and thoſe of his province &c.

" I hope I need not urge my circumſtances, to excite thy love, care and concern for me and my ſuffering intereſt, in that country. I know thou haſt better learned *Chriſt* and *Cato*, if I may ſo ſay, and wilt embrace ſuch an opportunity to chuſe to expreſs thy friendſhip and ſincerity; nor is uncertainty and changeableneſs thy fault; wherefore I will ſay no more, but deſire that my afflictions may ceaſe, if not cure your animoſities, or diſcontents, within yourſelves, if yet they have continued; and that thou wilt, both in government, and to my Commiſſioners of property, yield thy aſſiſtance all thou canſt.—By all this God may prepare me to be fitter for future ſervice, even to you there. I aſk the people forgiveneſs for my long ſtay; but when I conſider how much it has been my great loſs, and for an *ungrateful generation*, it is puniſhment!—It has been 20,000 pounds to my damage, in the country, and above 10,000 pounds here, and to the province 500 families; but the wiſe God, that can do what he pleaſes, as well as ſee what is in man's heart, is able to requite all; and I am perſwaded, all ſhall yet work together for good, in this very thing, if we can overlook all, that ſtands in the way of our views Godward, in public matters.—See that all be done prudently and humbly; and keep down irreverence and looſeneſs, and cheriſh induſtry and ſobriety. The Lord God Almighty be with you, and amongſt you, to his praiſe and your peace. Salute me to John Simcock, R. Turner, A. Cook, T. Janny, Ph. Pemberton, S. Richardſon, W. Yardly, the Welch Friends, and Plimouth Friends, indeed to all of them.——

" Thou haſt heard of our great loſs of dear *John Burnyeat*, and *Robert Lodge*, one in *Ireland*, and t'other in *England*, in about the ſame week; and *Robert Barclay*, *Th. Salthouſe*, and dearly beloved *George Fox* ſince:—He died at *Henry Gouldney's*, by *Gracious-ſtreet* meeting-houſe; where he preached his farewell the Firſt-day, and departed the Third, at Night, between nine and ten.—I was with him; he earneſtly recommended to me his love to you all; and ſaid, *William, mind poor Friends in America;* he died triumphantly over death, very eaſily foreſaw his change; he was buryed on the Sixth-day; like a general meeting; 2000 people at his burial, Firends and others:—I was never more public than that day; I felt myſelf eaſy; he was got into his *Inn*, before the ſtorm that is coming overtook him; and that night, very providentially I eſcaped the meſſenger's hands:—I ſhall add only, that *Friends* have had an extraordinary time, this *General Meeting;* ſo that God ſupplied that viſible loſs with his glorious preſence. *R. Davies* there, but not thy brother. In ſincere love I bid thee, thy wife and family, and friends, farewell,

" Thy true friend,

" WILLIAM PENN."

1690. ment and happineſs, which, it was moſt probable ſuch an addition, with his preſence, would have adminiſtered, but he alſo appeared very little in public, for two or three years afterwards; and the great diſadvantage and embarraſſment, which this diſappointment occaſioned, both in his private affairs, and thoſe of his colony, at this time, appear, in its effects, the more conſiderable, on account of the diſorder, or diſſenſion, between the province and territories; and alſo the religious diſturbance, in the affair of *George Keith;* both which began about this time; which, it is moſt probable, his long wanted preſence and abilities there would have prevented, or, at leaſt, ſome of the conſequences of them.

He writes in his retirement.

Yet the product of this retirement was ſeveral valuable treatiſes, on divers ſubjects, which, both for his own amuſement, and the common good of the preſent and future times, he writ, during this reſtraint upon his liberty, till the latter end of the year, 1693; which, as they are extant in his printed works, the world would otherwiſe, probably, never have ſeen, nor had the advantage of them. But, firſt, reſpecting his retirement, leſt his *Friends*, the *Quakers*, ſhould entertain any ſiniſter thoughts of him, he ſent the following epiſtle to their *Yearly-meeting*, in *London*, viz.

"The 30th. of the Third-month, 1691.

"*My beloved, dear and honoured brethren,*

W. Penn's Epiſtle to his Friends in London, in 1691.

"MY unchangeable love ſalutes you; and though I am abſent from you, yet I feel the ſweet and lowly life of your heavenly fellowſhip, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongſt you, whom I have loved above my chiefeſt joy: Receive no evil ſurmiſings, neither ſuffer hard thoughts, through the inſinuations of any, to enter your minds againſt me, your *afflicted*, but *not forſaken* friend and brother. *My enemies are yours*, and, in

in the ground, mine for your ſakes; and that God ſeeth in ſecret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not, becauſe men have ſworn *truly*, but *falſely*, againſt me; "*For wicked men have laid in wait for me, and falſe witneſſes have laid to my charge things that I knew not;*" who have never ſought *myſelf*, but the good of all, through great exerciſes; and have done ſome good, and would have done more, and hurt no man; but always deſired that truth and righteouſneſs, mercy and peace might take place amongſt us. Feel me near you, my dear and beloved brethren, and leave me not, neither forſake, but wreſtle with him, that is able to prevail againſt the cruel deſires of ſome, but we may yet meet in the congregations of his people, as in days paſt, to our mutual comfort: The everlaſting God of his choſen, in all generations, be in the midſt of you, and crown your moſt ſolemn aſſemblies with his bleſſed preſence! that his tender, meek, lowly and heavenly love and life, may flow among you, and that he would pleaſe to make it a ſeaſoning and fruitful opportunity to you, deſiring to be remembered of you before him, in the neareſt and freſheſt acceſſes, who cannot forget you, in the neareſt relation,

"*Your faithful friend and brother,*

"WILLIAM PENN."

W. Penn's Epiſtle to his Friends in London, in 1691.

Though the Proprietary had, both by charter and otherwiſe, endeavoured to connect the province and territories of *Pennſylvania*, in legiſlation and government, ſo as to form one General Aſſembly, yet the jealouſies, and difference of ſentiment, in ſome caſes, which afterwards aroſe between the Repreſentatives of each part, in their legiſlative capacity, tending to create ſeparate intereſts, and a rupture between them, were frequently the occaſion of great uneaſineſs to him; whoſe view was always to keep them united, judging it moſt for the intereſt of them both, as well as his own.

1690. Hence, after *Blackwell's* departure for *England*, in the year 1690, the irregularities, which enſued, or were attempted, in conſequence of this difference, appear, by the following declaration of the Council, and other public proceedings, *viz.*

(L. S.) " *By the Preſident and Council of* Pennſylvania *and counties annexed.*

" Preſent,

" Thomas Lloyd, *Preſident.*

" John Simcock, Samuel Richardſon,
" William Clark, Griffith Jones,
" Arthur Cook, Thomas Duckett,
" William Stockdale, Griffith Owen.
" William Yardly,

Declaration of the Preſident and Council, in 1690.

" WHEREAS, the Provincial Council, according to the powers of the preſent commiſſion of government, have, at their firſt ſitting, choſen a Preſident,* and have ſince, in a legiſlative council, continued him, till they ſhould ſee cauſe to alter their choice; and having likewiſe ordered the ſucceeding councils to be called by him, or, in his abſence, by notice ſent by ſix members from this place; yet, notwithſtanding, theſe members, *William Clark*, *Luke Watſon*, *Griffith Jones*, *John Brinkloe*, *John Cann*, *Johannes D'Haes*, did privily meet together, in the council-room, upon the twenty-firſt inſtant, without ſignifying the leaſt ſyllable of their intentions, of having a council, either to *Thomas Lloyd*, the elected and continued Preſident, or to any member of the *province;* and there, in an irregular and undue manner, have preſumed to act, as a council, and have iſſued forth pretended commiſſions, for conſtituting Provincial Judges, contrary to the expreſs letter of the laws, and have nominated ſome therein, who, under their preſent circumſtances, are unqualified for that ſtation; as, upon occaſion, ſhall be made appear; and have voted extravagant and contradictory

* Viz. *Tho. Lloyd*, 11th. of the 2mo. 1689-90.

contradictory orders. This board, having well considered their disorderly and unprecedented way of meeting, cannot but entirely disallow and disown their so clandestine meeting, to be a council; for should such a proceeding be, in the least countenanced, the consequence thereof would unavoidably introduce a rupture and confusion, in the present frame of government: For, by the same reason, that any six members privately met, without notice had from, or given to, any of the rest, may represent the Governor and Council, in this place, by the same methods, two other six members elsewhere may represent two Governors and Councils more, at the same time, in this government;* which is an absurdity, not to be tolerated. And further, this Council, being under an obligation of asserting the Governor's power and authority, lodged in a regular Provincial Council, and for the undeceiving of many well minded persons, who otherwise may be abused by their late sitting, have unanimously, by this instrument, in writing, declared this to be our sense and judgment, that all entries, orders and commissions made and given forth by the aforesaid six members, at the council-room, upon the twenty-first instant, are hereby deemed null, and of no force.

1690. Declaration of Council.

* Note, the whole number was 18, 3 for each county.

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Note.—Third month, 1690, the names of the members of Assembly were:—

For Philadelphia.	*For Bucks.*	*For Chester.*
William Salway,	Joseph Growdon, *Speaker*,	John Bristow,
Humphrey Morrey,	Henry Paynter,	William Jenkins,
Thomas Fitzwater,	Richard Hough,	Robert Pile,
Charles Pickering,	Henry Baker,	Joshua Fern,
Paul Saunders,	Edmund Bennett,	George Maris,
Abraham Updegrave.	John Cook.	Caleb Pusey.
For New Castle.	*For Kent.*	*For Sussex.*
Edward Blake,	John Barnes,	John Hill,
Henry Williams,	John Betts,	Samuel Gray,
Richard Halliwell,	Daniel Brown,	Robert Clifton,
John Darby,	Ezekiel Needham,	Henry Smith,
William Grant,	Richard Curtis,	Baptist Newcomb,
John Donaldson.	William Freeland.	Thomas Branson.

1690. force. Whereof all Magiſtrates, officers and other perſons concerned, in this government, are to take notice accordingly.

"Given at *Philadelphia*, 26th. of the Ninth-month, 1690.

"THOMAS LLOYD, *Preſident.*"

This diſagreement appears afterwards to have
1691. increaſed, and, in the fore part of the year 1691, proceeded to greater extreme.* The Proprietary, whether to gratify, or indulge the humor of the colony, and thereby induce a coaleſcence of the two parties, or with whatever other deſign, (which, no doubt, was well intended,) had left to the choice of the Council, three different methods, or modes, of the executive part of government, *viz.* either that of the Council, of five commiſſioners, or of a Deputy Governor: This affair, with other matters, being, about that time, agitated in Council, and the province, or the majority, inclining to the laſt of theſe methods, ſeven members,

Three modes of Executive government offered by Wm. Penn.

* The following propoſals, ſaid to be made to the Provincial Council, by *Griffith Jones* and *William Clark*, in behalf, and for the eaſe and ſatisfaction of the inhabitants of the three lower counties, or the territories, may further ſhew the views of the members for the ſaid counties, in this affair, *viz.*

I. "That there be forthwith a writ iſſued forth, for chuſing a member of Council, for the county of *Suſſex*, in the room of *Thomas Clifton.*

II. "That the commiſſions given out, by both Councils, for judges, be wholly laid aſide; and that the inhabitants of the three lower counties may recommend to the council two perſons to be commiſſionated, for judges, to act the next Spring, and that to continue no longer.

III. "That, at the next legiſlative council, a bill be propoſed by the council, to enable the nine members of the lower counties, or any ſix of them, to appoint three judges, to act in that ſtation, in the ſaid three counties, and that there be alſo three for the province, always provided; that the judges do act by the laws of *Pennſylvania.*

IV. "That for the eaſe of the charge, there be a diſpenſing with the meeting of the Aſſembly, unleſs it be for the confirming of theſe alterations.

V. "That all other officers be, from time to time, appointed by the ſaid nine members of the three lower counties, or any ſix of them, to act there; and that no other officers may be impoſed upon them.

VI. "That the fairs for *New-caſtle* be confirmed unto them. All which being by you granted, we hope, may be a means to keep things quiet; which ſhall be diligently endeavoured by your real friends, although otherwiſe repreſented, or ſuſpected."

bers, for the lower counties, *viz. William Clark*, 1691.
John Cann, *John Brinkloe*, *John Hill*, *Richard Halliwell*, *Albertus Jacobs* and *George Martin* drew up and signed a formal *proteſt*, or declaration, directed to the members of Council, of the province of *Pennſylvania*; dated, *Philadelphia*, the firſt of the Second-month, 1691.

In this they declared,—

Declaration and Proteſt of the lower Counties.

Firſt, "That the mode of the five commiſſioners was the moſt agreeable to them, or to the counties, which they repreſented.

Secondly, "That the commiſſion of the Council was the next, though much leſs convenient, than that of the five commiſſioners; on account of the encroachments thereby made upon their rights and privileges, by the province, in impoſing officers upon them, without their conſent, or approbation.

Thirdly, "That the method of a Deputy Governor was the moſt diſagreeable and grievous of any; on account of the choice of all officers being placed in a ſingle perſon, and the expence, or charge, of his ſupport: therefore they would not agree to accept of that commiſſion.

Fourthly, "But that, rather than the country ſhould be without government, they would conſent to that of the Council; provided no officers whatever were impoſed upon any of the three lower counties, without the conſent of the reſpective members of Council for theſe counties.

Fifthly, "That they deſired to excuſe themſelves for not agreeing to have theſe things put to the vote; which, they ſaid, they had experienced, the members for the province would ſcarce ever do, till they were ſure it would go againſt them.

Sixthly, "That they, in behalf of the lower counties, *proteſted* againſt the acceptance of any commiſſion, but that of the five perſons, and *reſolved*,

1691. *ſolved*, that ſhould the province act otherwiſe, they would govern themſelves by the commiſſion, then in force, till the Proprietary's pleaſure ſhould be known therein:"—And thereupon they immediately withdrew their attendance.

What juſt or ſufficient cauſe, they had for this conduct, doth not clearly appear: it gave many of the members of the Provincial Council, as well as the Proprietary himſelf, much concern and uneaſineſs; and great endeavours were uſed, and much pains taken by both, to reconcile them; but not with all the deſired ſucceſs: for their greateſt oſtenſible objection againſt this commiſſion of a Deputy Governor, which the province moſt inclined to, appearing to be the expence of his ſupport, and their jealouſy of having their officers removed, ſo, to relieve their apprehenſions, in theſe reſpects, &c. at Preſident Lloyd's requeſt, *John Simcock*, *John Briſtow*, *John Delavall*, with *David Lloyd*, went after them, to *New-Caſtle*, to endeavour their return, &c. but in vain.*

Endeavours uſed to reconcile them, &c.

Hence,

* The Preſident writ to them by theſe perſons, as follows, *viz.* "*John Cann*, *John Brinkloe*, *George Martin*, *William Clark*, *R. Halliwell*, *John Hill*, *Albert Jacobs*.

"*Friends*,

"I am ſorry for this breach, which you have made upon the laws, charter and council procedure; you have withdrawn your attendance, without any juſt cauſe; lay aſide obſtinacy, wilful neglect and ſelf intereſt, I cannot conceive what can ſupport you, at laſt, but the abſurd lenity of the Government. Recollect yourſelves; conſider well the confuſion, to which this your raſhneſs may expoſe you, and many innocent inhabitants of the lower counties; and return unto your duty, and repeſentative ſervice here, and we ſhall lovingly receive you, and ſo diſpatch, I hope, in a ſhort time, the preſent emergencies before us. And I do further, for your encouragement, aſſure you, and faithfully promiſe unto you, that the charge of the *Chair*, and ſupport of me under this *preſent commiſſion*, ſhall not preſs, nor burthen you, or them, whom you repreſent, *one penny*; unleſs you jointly, and at your voluntary accord, not only offer, but requeſt the acceptance of your benevolence, through the method of a *General Aſſembly*.—I have not further at this time, but requeſt you to be ſerious, and, if you deſire to be *apart*, let it be done with the ſame ſolemnity, whereby you were united to us. Your officers, duly qualified, ſhall continue till our Proprietary's pleaſure be further known, and not to be removed, without your reſpective concurrence. I expect to ſee you ſoon up with us.

"Your abuſed Friend and Chairman.

"*Council-room*, *the 4th. of the Second-month*, 1691."

Hence, upon the province preferring the choice of a Deputy Governor, contrary to the mind of the territories, and *Thomas Lloyd* being preferred to that office, (which he appears to have accepted with ſome reluctance) the Proprietary commiſſionated him Governor of the province, and the Secretary, *William Markham*, who appears to have joined and retired with the proteſting members, in their abrupt ſeparation, was, in like manner, appointed over the lower counties, under certain reſtrictions. 1691. Th. Lloyd Governor of the Province & W. Markham of the Territories.

This diviſion of the Legiſlature appears to have been much againſt the Proprietary's mind; who ſeems to have apprehended dangerous, if not fatal, conſequences from it.* He blamed, or, at leaſt, appeared, W. Penn grieved at this diviſion &c.

* The Proprietary's ſentiments and grief, on this occaſion, appear, in part, in the following extract from one of his letters to a friend, *viz.*

29th of the Fourth-month, 1692.

"*Loving friend*,

"I have thine of the 13th. inſtant, thy love and good intention towards me I receive and accept. But, pray, conſider how little I am in fault; and how ill I am rewarded by ſome in that Province.—I left it quiet, and the government in the council. *Thomas Lloyd* grew weary of this form; writ, and got others to write, to change it to a deputyſhip; I ſent to know, if he would have it; in the meanwhile writ to me, he would not meddle, and deſired a *quietus*, or diſmiſs:—Upon this captain *Blackwell's* wife, general *Lambert's* daughter, coming to me about preſenting ſomething of her huſband's to the *King*; and remembering him to be a man of ſobriety and parts, aſked for him, then in *New England*; and if he would accept of the government of *Pennſylvania*, &c.—This diſpleaſed:—I altered and left it to them, to chuſe either the government of the council, or five commiſſioners, or a deputy: What could be tenderer? Now I perceive *Thomas Lloyd* is choſen by the three upper, but not the three lower counties; and ſits down with this broken choice: This has grieved and wounded me and mine, I fear to the hazard of all! Whatever the morals of the lower counties are, it was embraced as a mercy, that we got and united them to the province; and a great charter ties them; and this particular ambition has broken it; for the ſtriving can ariſe from nothing elſe; and what is that ſpirit that would ſooner divide the child, than let things run in their own channel, but that which ſacrifices all bowels to wilfulneſs! Had they learned what this means, *I will have mercy, and not ſacrifice*, there had been no breaches nor animoſities there till I had come, at leaſt. I deſire thee to write to them; which they will mind now more, than upon the ſpot; and lay their union upon them; for elſe the Governor of *New York* is like to have all; if he has it not already. The Lord forgive them their unſpeakable injury to me and mine. I have ſent, nine months ago, to *J. Goodſon* a commiſſion, if my letter prevails not, that was to unite them, that *Thomas Lloyd* be Gover-

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1691. appeared diſpleaſed with *Thomas Lloyd's* conduct, in accepting of a partial choice, or that of the province only, as if it were in his power to have prevented this diviſion; but the Provincial Council excuſed him in a letter thereon to the Proprietary and entirely exculpated him from being acceſſary thereto, or in any manner promoting this diſagreement, throwing the whole blame on the territory men: they declared, that, inſtead of being a gainer by any public offices, which he had held, *Thomas Lloyd* had *waſted*, or conſiderably *worſted* his eſtate thereby; that, as he was well known to be a lover and promoter of concord and union, and preferred a private life, ſo, "*He never accepted of that commiſſion, but by the importunity of his friends*, or, *at the earneſt requeſt of* the province itſelf. This letter was ſigned by *Arthur Cook*, *John Simcock*, *Samuel Richardſon*, *James Fox*, *George Murrie* and *Samuel Carpenter*.

Duration of this mode of government, &c.

The province and territories continued, in this manner, about two years; or, till the arrival of Governor *Fletcher* of *New-York*, in April, 1693; and though they managed better, in this ſituation, than the Proprietary, at firſt, ſeems to have expected from it, and with more harmony than they had done, for ſome time before; nevertheleſs, it will hereafter appear that the continued refractorineſs of the territories, in their refuſing to accept of the new charter, in 1701, was, at length, the occaſion of their total ſeparation from the province, in legiſlation.

The

nor above, and captain *Markham*, below, under ſuch and ſuch reſtrictions, &c.—but hear not a word of this. I was going the Second-month at fartheſt, all things preparing, as friends of *London* know, when this trouble broke out upon me, in the Eleventh: and ſuch have been my hardſhips, could not get clear without ſnares, &c. ſo, wait God's time, who has a hand in all this; and, I believe, in the end, every way, for good; ſo, in true love to thee and thine, and earneſt deſires to ſee their faces, I conclude

"Thy real friend,
"WILLIAM PENN."

1691.

T. Lloyd, Deputy Governor *from* 3mo. 10th. 1691.

The revolution and meaſures, taken by the province, in conſequence of this conduct of the territories, with the form of the legiſlative proceeding, in the Deputyſhip of Governor *Lloyd*, which commenced about the Third-month, 1691, and under the charter then in force are, in part, exhibited by the following promulgated bills; which appear to have been paſſed into laws, in the ſame year, *viz.*

"The Deputy Governour and Freemen of the province of *Pennſylvania*, in Council met at *Philadelphia*, on the ſeventeenth day of the Sixth-month, 1691, have prepared and publiſhed, according to law and charter, theſe following bills, for the notice and concurrence of the Freemen, in Aſſembly to meet, the tenth day of the Seventh-month next, at *Philadelphia*, aforeſaid, in the form and ſtyle of laws, then and there to be confirmed, amended, or rejected, as the General Aſſembly, in their wiſdom, ſhall ſee meet.

"At an Aſſembly held at *Philadelphia*, the tenth day of the Seventh-month, anno dom. 1691.

A promulgated bill.

"WHEREAS, by an act of General Aſſembly held at *Cheſter*, alias *Upland*, in the Tenth-month, 1682, it is, among other things, enacted by the Proprietary and Governor of this province of *Pennſylvania*, with the advice and conſent of the Deputies of the Freemen of the ſame province and counties annexed, in the ſaid Aſſembly met, that the counties of *New-Caſtle*, *Jones* and *Whorekills*, alias *Deal*, ſhould be annexed, and are thereby annexed, unto the province of *Pennſylvania*, as of the proper territory thereof; and the people therein ſhould be governed by the ſame laws, and enjoy the ſame privileges, in all reſpects, as the inhabitants of *Pennſylvania* did, or ſhould, enjoy from time to time, as by the ſame act, more at large appears:

But,

1691. But, leſt the ſaid Proprietary and Freemen of the ſaid province ſhould by the ſaid union, be deprived of the immunities and powers then before inveſted in them, apart from the ſaid annexed counties, by virtue of the King's letters patent, and firſt charter of liberties, or ſhould otherwiſe be impeded or obſtructed, in any act of government, which might relate to the public good, juſtice, peace and ſafety of the ſaid province, which might not ſo immediately concern the territories, it was, at the ſame General Aſſembly, further enacted, that all matters and things, not therein provided for, which ſhould, or might, concern the public good, juſtice, peace and ſafety of the ſaid province, and the raiſing and impoſing taxes, cuſtoms, duties, or charges whatſoever, ſhould be, and are, thereby referred to the order, prudence and determination of the Governor and Freemen of the ſaid province, from time to time; which ſaid laws have been ſithence continued in, and by, the ſucceeding General Aſſemblies: *Now*, for as much as the preſent ſtate and emergency of this government requires ſome ſpeedy proviſion, for the ſupport and ſafety thereof, and for the better eſtabliſhing the juſtice and peace of the ſame, by reaſon of the breach, that the Repreſentatives of the ſaid annexed counties have lately made, in wilfully abſenting themſelves from their charteral attendance, in the laſt legiſlative Council and Aſſembly, and declining their other incumbent duties and ſervices to the preſent conſtitutions of this province; as alſo, in oppoſing and tumultuouſly preventing the election of new members, to ſupply the neglect of the ſaid abſenting Repreſentatives, withſtanding all provincial acts of government, and denying the powers of the ſame: Therefore, for preventing all doubts and ſcruples concerning the meeting, ſitting and proceeding of this preſent General Aſſembly, *Be it declared and enacted*,

enacted, and it is declared and enacted, by the Deputy Governor, with the aſſent of the Repreſentatives of the Freemen of the ſaid province, in General Aſſembly met, by the King and Queen's authority, that the meetings of Council, ſince the diſſent and refuſal aforeſaid, of the Repreſentatives of the ſaid annexed counties, and the meetings of the Deputy Governor and Repreſentatives of the province, in Provincial Council and Aſſembly met, on the tenth day of the Third-month laſt paſt, at *Philadelphia*, and now ſitting, in this preſent General Aſſembly, are the Provincial Council and Aſſembly of this province of *Pennſylvania*; and are hereby declared, enacted and adjudged ſo to be, to all intents, conſtructions and purpoſes, notwithſtanding the abſence of the Repreſentatives of the ſaid counties annexed:——*And*, for removing all objections, that may ariſe concerning the validity, force and continuation of the laws of this government, *Be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid*, That all theſe laws, that were made, continued and ſtood unrepealed at the laſt General Aſſembly, held at *New-Caſtle*, in the year 1690, are hereby declared and enacted to ſtand in force and be continued reſpectively, untill the publication of other laws, which ſhall be made by the next General Aſſembly of this province. 1691.

"*Ex per*

"DAVID LLOYD, *Cl. Council.*"

As this diviſion had occaſioned much anxiety to the Proprietary, of which both parties were ſenſible,

In the minutes of the Provincial Council, in the Summer of the year 1691, appear the following names of the active members of that board, *viz.*

John Simcock,	John Curtis,
John Delavall,	Thomas Duckett,
William Stockdale,	John Briſtow,
Arthur Cook,	Thomas Janny,
Joſeph Growdon,	William Jenkins.
Griffith Owen,	

1692. so to relieve him, at least in part, from his apprehensions and uneasiness, on that account, in the fore-part of the year 1692, the two deputies and their Councils unitedly writ him the following letter, *viz.*

Both parties unitedly write to the Proprietor.

From the Council-room at *Philadelphia*, the 6th. of the Second-month, 1692.

"*Worthy Governor*,

Their letter to him.

"THESE few lines, we hope, may much ease thy mind, in reference to thy exercises, concerning the affairs of thy government here, by informing thee, that, with unanimous accord, we rest satisfied with thy two deputations, sent for executive government of the province, and counties annexed: and thy deputies concurring amicably, at this time, to act as one general government, in legislation, we have proceeded in the preparing jointly some few bills; that thereby our present united actings may be as well published, as the respective services of the government answered.—What particular transactions of moment, which have occurred upon our calm debates of the *choice of three*, we refer to the minutes for thy satisfaction: We heartily wish thee well; and, with longing expectations, desire thy speedy return unto us; where, we doubt not, but thou wilt find a most grateful reception, and better face of affairs, than may seem to thee there, at this distance; so, bidding thee adieu, at this time, we remain,

"Thy faithful and well-wishing friends,

"THOMAS LLOYD.
"WILLIAM MARKHAM.

"Arthur Cook,	John Bristow,
"Jno. Cann,	Albertus Jacobs,
"Jos. Growdon,	Hugh Roberts,
"John Delavall,	Sa. Gray,
"Rich. Halliwell,	Samuel Lewis,
"Griffith Owen,	Richard Wilson,
"George Martin,	William Biles.
"Wm. Jenkins."	

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XI.

Schiſm and ſeparation between George Keith and the Quakers.—Their teſtimony of denial againſt him.—His conduct afterwards.—Some judicial proceedings againſt him, &c.—The Magiſtrates' declaration of the reaſons for theſe proceedings.—This affair, and the difference between the Province and Territories, give William Penn great concern and trouble. He is deprived of the government by King William and Queen Mary.—Their commiſſion to Fletcher, Governor of New York.—Fletcher's letter to Deputy Lloyd.

IN the year 1691, an affair happened among the *Quakers*, in this part of the world, which gave them much uneaſineſs and trouble, in their religious capacity, more eſpecially in this Province, and the neighbouring places. This was the difference and ſeparation between them and *George Keith*, before mentioned. He had been an eminent preacher and writer among them, for many years; and had publiſhed ſeveral well-written treatiſes, in defence of their religious principles, yet extant. He was a man of quick natural parts, and conſiderable literary abilities; acute in argument, and very ready and able in logical diſputations, and nice diſtinctions, on theological ſubjects; but, ſaid to be, of a brittle temper, and over-bearing diſpoſition of mind; not ſufficiently tempered and qualified with that Chriſtian moderation and charity, which give command over the human paſſions; the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of true Chriſtianity: of which he himſelf had not only made high profeſſion, but alſo, in his younger years, as appears by

1691.

The ſchiſm of George Keith, &c.

1691. by his writings, had a good underſtanding. His great confidence in his own ſuperior abilities ſeems to have been one, if not the chief, introductory cauſe of this unhappy diſpute;—When men ſet too high a value on themſelves, and others will not come up to their price, then they are diſcontented. He is ſaid to have had too much life in argument and diſputation, on religious points of controverſy, and ſometimes to have exhibited an unbecoming vanity on victory thereby obtained over his opponents, even, prior to the ſchiſm between him and his friends: for having, ſome time before, been on a viſit to *New England*, he is repreſented as having indulged his natural propenſity this way, among the preachers and inhabitants there, in a very extravagant manner: Which diſpoſition of mind, from that time forward, appeared to have ſo far got the aſcendancy over him, that, on his return, he began to exhibit the ſame, even, among his friends, beginning with finding fault, propoſing and urging new regulations, in the ſociety, in reſpect to the diſcipline of it, and complaining, "*There was too great a ſlackneſs therein.*"—Upon his friends not readily joining with him and his propoſals, in the manner he expected, he became ſtill more captious, and more diſpoſed to ſeek matters of reproach and offence againſt divers in the ſociety, and to make the worſt of them; charging ſome of his friends, who were generally well eſteemed and approved miniſters, with preaching falſe doctrine; and, it is ſaid, even, in points contrary to what himſelf had formerly held and declared, in his writings, in defence of the *Quakers*, and their principles. He found fault with his friends being in the magiſtracy, and their executing the penal laws againſt malefactors, as being inconſiſtent with their religious profeſſion; and, in ſhort, contended that he and ſuch as joined with him, were the true *Quakers*, and all the reſt, who oppoſed him, were apoſtates.

G. Keith's ſchiſm, &c.

His allegation againſt the Quakers

These

These were the principal allegations, which, in the beginning of the diſpute, he appears to have made againſt the *Quakers*. The principal things, if not the whole, with which I find him charged by them, at that time, appear to be his over-bearing temper, and unchriſtian diſpoſition of mind, in groſsly vilifying and diſparaging divers members of the ſociety, who were univerſally and highly approved among them, and entirely rejecting their advice and judgment, in the affair; the conſequence of an overheated and intemperate zeal: which, at laſt, proceeded ſo far as to occaſion ſuch a breach, that, on the 20th. day of the Fourth-month, 1692, *a declaration, or teſtimony of denial*, was drawn up againſt him, at a meeting of the miniſters of the ſociety at *Philadelphia:* wherein both he and his conduct were publicly diſowned by them. 1691.

Their charges againſt him.

He is diſowned, &c. in 1692.

This *declaration*, which was confirmed at the next following *General Yearly Meeting*, held at *Burlington*, the ſeventh of the Seventh-month, exhibits more fully the charges againſt him, and may further elucidate the caſe to the more inquiſitive: Which *Teſtimony*, as it may, probably, be curious to ſome, if not inſtructive, is, therefore, placed in the notes.*

He

* The Declaration, or Teſtimony, of Denial againſt *George Keith*, was expreſſed as follows, *viz.*

"To the ſeveral Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in *Pennſylvania*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Jerſey*, and elſewhere, as there may be occaſion.

"*Beloved Friends*,

"IN tender love, and with ſpirits bowed down before the Lord, is this our ſalutation unto you; earneſtly deſiring your growth, and daily preſervation, in the ancient truth, and in the ſimplicity of the goſpel of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt;* and our hope and breathings are, that no inſinuations, or wiles, of the enemy ſhall prevail, to turn you aſide from your ſteadfaſtneſs, or cauſe you to eſteem lightly of the rock and way of God's ſalvation unto you, but that you may be kept in the light and life, which was, and is, the juſt man's path, to the end of our days, Amen!

"Now, dear Friends, it is with ſorrow of ſpirits and grief of ſouls, that we ſignify unto you the tedious exerciſe, and vexatious perplexity, we have met with, in our late friend, *George Keith*, for ſeveral months paſt. With mourning and lamentation do we ſay, How is this mighty man

1692. He drew off a large number of people with him, ſome of conſiderable account, in the ſociety; and ſet

man fallen! How is his ſhield caſt away, as though he had not known the oil of the holy Ointment! How ſhall it be told in *Gath*, and publiſhed in the ſtreets of *Aſkalon!* Will not the daughters of the uncircumciſed triumph, when they hear that he is fallen upon the ſoaring mountains, and from the high places of *Iſrael?* While thou walkedſt in the counſel of God, and wert little in thy own eyes, thy bow did abide in ſtrength; thy ſword returned not empty from the fat of the enemies of God—thy bow returned not back. His enemies were then vile unto thee, and his followers honourable in thy eſteem. Oh, how lovely wert thou, in that day, when his beauty was upon thee; and when his comelineſs covered thee! Why ſhould his ornaments exalt thee, which were given to humble thee before him? And how art thou fallen from thy *firſt love*, and art become *treacherous to the ſpouſe of thy youth.* Conſider where thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy *firſt works*.

"But ſo it hath happened, Friends, leſt any fleſh ſhould glory, but become ſilent before the Lord, that this *once eminent man*, and *inſtrument of renown*, in the hand of the Lord, while he kept his firſt habitation, and knew the government of Truth over his own ſpirit; and witneſſed the ſame to be a bridle to his tongue, was then ſerviceable, both in pen and ſpeech, to the churches of *Chriſt*. But now, and of late, it is too obvious and apparent, that, being degenerated from the lowly, meek and peaceable ſpirit of *Chriſt Jeſus*, and grown cool in charity and love towards his brethren, he is gone into a ſpirit of enmity, wrath, and ſelf-exaltation, contention and janglings; and, as a perſon without the fear of God before his eyes, and without regard to his Chriſtian brethren, and letting looſe to an extravagant tongue, he hath broken out into many ungodly ſpeeches, railing accuſations, and paſſionate threatenings towards many of his brethren and elders; and that upon ſlender occaſions. And when ſome, in Chriſtian duty, have laid before him his unſavory words, and abuſive language, as a perſon of common civility would loath, it hath been too frequent with him, and that, in a tranſport of heat and paſſion, to call ſome of his brethren, in the miniſtry, and other elders, and that upon ſmall provocations, (if any) *Fools*, *ignorant Heathens*, *Infidels*, *ſilly Souls*, *Lyers*, *Heretics*, *rotten Ranters*, *Muggletonians*, and other names of that infamous ſtrain; thereby to our grief, foaming out his own ſhame. And further, his anger and envy being cruel againſt us, and not contenting himſelf with his harſhneſs againſt perſons, he proceeded, in bitterneſs of ſpirit, to charge our meetings with being come together to cloak hereſy and deceit; and publiſhing openly ſeveral times, that there were more doctrines of devils, and damnable hereſies, among the *Quakers*, than in any profeſſion among the Proteſtants. He hath long objected againſt our *Diſcipline*, even, ſoon after his coming among us, and having prepared a draught of his own, and the ſame not finding the expected reception, he ſeemed diſguſted. Since he hath often quarrelled with us about *Confeſſion*, declaring, "*That he knew none given forth by the body of Friends, to his ſatisfaction;*" and often charged moſt of us with being unſound in the faith. We have offered, in ſeveral meetings, for his ſatisfaction, and to prevent ſtrife among us, and for preſerving the peace of the church, to deliver a *Confeſſion* of our Chriſtian faith, in the words of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Author of our Chriſtian faith, and in the words of the Apoſtles and Diſciples, his faithful followers; or we would concur, and agree upon a *Confeſſion*, and have it tranſmitted for approbation of the Yearly Meeting here, or the Yearly Meeting in *London*;

ſet up ſeparate meetings, in divers places: Theſe called themſelves *Chriſtian Quakers* and *Friends*, boaſted 1692.

London; yet, it was offered unto him, at the ſame time, that a *Confeſſion*, concerning the main matters of controverſy, ſhould be given out of a book of his own; but all was ſlighted, as inſufficient. The Lord knows the trouble, which we have had with this unruly member; and the openneſs of our hearts, and well-wiſhes towards him, notwithſtanding his rage and violence againſt us; and of the endeavours of many in this place, to have gained upon him by a friendly converſe, and by other means, not inconſiderable to a brotherly freedom; but our labour hitherto ſeems to be as water ſpilt upon a rock. And this meeting, having orderly and tenderly dealt with him, for his abuſive language, and diſorderly behaviour, he hath not only ſlighted all applications of gaining him to a ſenſe of his ill-treatment and miſcarriages, but, in an inſulting manner, ſaid to the friends appointed by the meeting, to admoniſh him, "*That he trampled the judgment of the Meeting under his feet, as dirt.*" And hath, of late, ſet up a ſeparate meeting here; where he hath, like an open oppoſer, not only reviled ſeveral friends, by expoſing their religious reputations, in mixt auditories of ſome hundreds, endeavouring to render them and friends here, by the preſs and otherwiſe, a ſcorn to the profane, and the ſong of the drunkard; but he hath traduced and vilified our worthy travelling friends, *James Dickinſon* and *Thomas Wilſon*, in their powerful and ſavory *miniſtry*, whoſe ſervice is not only here, but, in moſt meetings in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, well known to have a ſeal in the hearts of many thouſands of the *Iſrael of God*. He hath alſo within a few weeks, appeared in oppoſition, as it were, to the body of Friends, by putting on his hat, when our well-received and recommended friend, *James Dickinſon*, was at prayer; and that, in a meeting of near a thouſand Friends and others; and ſo going out of the meeting, to the great diſquiet thereof, and to the drawing ſome ſcores into the ſame oppoſition with him, by his ill example. And he thus perſiſting in his repeated oppoſition, hard ſpeeches, and continued ſeparation, and labouring like an unwearyed adverſary, to widen the breach, made by him, and ſo abuſing ſome of the neighbouring meetings, by being, as yet, under that covering of being owned by us; we are hereby brought under a religious conſtraint, and to prevent other meetings from being further injured by him, to give forth this *Teſtimony*, ſtrained, as it were, from us, by his many and violent provocations, *viz.* That we cannot own him, in ſuch ungodly ſpeeches, and diſorderly behaviour, or, in his ſeparate meetings; and that we diſown the ſame, as proceeding from a wrong ſpirit, which brings into diſorder inwardly, and leads into diſtraction and confuſion outwardly. And, until he condemn and decline the ſame, we cannot receive him, in his public miniſtry, and would have him ceaſe to offer his gift, as ſuch, among us, or elſewhere among Friends, till he be reconciled to his offended brethren. And as thoſe few of our brethren, in the gift of the miniſtry, who are gone out with *George Keith*, into his uncharitable and dividing ſpirit, (the miſerable effects whereof many of us have ſufficiently known, in *Old England*, and other parts) our judgment is, that, while they continue ſuch, they become unqualified to the work of the Goſpel, as degenerating from the guidance of God's bleſſed and peaceable ſpirit; in their hearts, (from whence proceeds the effectual New Teſtament miniſtry) and being turned from the peaceable fruits thereof, are gone to *un*-charity and contention.

"And

1692. boaſted of their large numbers, and looked upon the reſt as Apoſtates; many books were written, and

" And now, all you, who have walked in fellowſhip and communion with us, and are drawn aſide, through inconſideration, or otherwiſe, into the ſpirit of ſeparation and prejudice againſt our meetings, orderly eſtabliſhed; and wherein we have often been mutually refreſhed together; we cannot but, in the fear of God, and in love to your ſouls, admoniſh you alſo of the inſecurity of your preſent ſtate, and that, therein we cannot have unity with you; and unleſs you return from under that ſpirit, dryneſs and barrenneſs, from the Lord, will be your reward.

" And ſo, dear Friends, we exhort you all to behave your ſelves, in the ſpirit of meekneſs, and peaceable truth, upon all occaſions, but more eſpecially upon any diſcourſe, or conference, with any of them, who are diſcontented among you, or ſtarted aſide from you; and avoid all heats and contentions in matters of faith and worſhip; and let not the ſalt of the covenant be wanting in your words and actions; for, thereby the ſavour of your converſation will reach the witneſs of God in them. The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all, Amen.

" Given forth by the Meeting of *Public Friends*, in *Philadelphia*, the twentieth of the Fourth-month, 1692.

" Thomas Lloyd,	John Blunſton,
" John Willsford,	William Cooper,
" Nicholas Waln,	Thomas Thackary,
" William Watſon,	William Biles,
" George Maris,	Samuel Jenings,
" Thomas Duckett,	John Delavall,
" Joſhua Fearne,	William Yardly,
" Evan Morris,	Joſeph Kirkbride,
" Richard Walter,	Walter Faweit,
" John Simcock,	Hugh Roberts,
" Griffith Owen,	Robert Owen,
" John Brown,	William Walker,
" Henry Willis,	John Lynam,
" Paul Saunders,	George Gray."

In confirmation of this Teſtimony and Declaration againſt *George Keith*, the Yearly Meeting at *Burlington*, on the ſeventh of the Seventh-month, 1692, ſay thus,—

" WE find it our duty to join with our brethren, in their Teſtimony againſt that ſpirit of railing, lying, ſlandering, and falſely accuſing, which hath riſen, and acted, notoriouſly in *George Keith*, and his adherents; which hath led them into a miſchievous and hurtful ſeparation. And we do hereby declare, that we have not, nor can have, unity, in ſpirit, with any of them, until they return and repent of their evils aforeſaid," &c.

Extracted from their Teſtimony on the occaſion, ſigned by 214 *Names.*

The Yearly Meeting in *London*, in the Third-month, 1694, unanimouſly declared it to be their ſenſe and judgment,—" That the ſaid *George Keith* was gone from the bleſſed unity of the peaceable ſpirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and hath thereby ſeparated himſelf from the holy fellowſhip of the church of Chriſt; and that, while he is in an unreconciled and uncharitable ſtate, he ought not to preach, or pray, in any of Friends' meetings, nor be owned, or received as one of us, until by a public and hearty

and much altercation and diſpute enſued, on both ſides. 1692.

He appealed, or complained, to the Yearly Meeting of the ſociety, in *London*, againſt the *Quakers* of *Pennſylvania*, who had diſowned him, and appeared there in perſon; where he was confronted by divers from the province. But, in this place, it is ſaid, his paſſion and wrath ſo far prevailed over him, and his demeanour was ſo unreaſonable and outragious, and ſo much diſpoſed for contention and diſpute, that notwithſtanding all poſſible endeavours for a reconciliation, and healing meaſures taking place between them, his denial was there finally confirmed. He appeals to the Quakers in England.

He thenceforward became a public and bitter enemy, as far as in him lay, againſt the *Quakers*, in general; preaching and writing againſt them with all imaginable virulency: In which he appeared afterwards to be employed by their adverſaries, for that purpoſe; for having joined with the Epiſcopal He becomes a public enemy to the Quakers.

[47]

hearty acknowledgement of the great offence, he has given, and hurt he hath done, and condemnation of himſelf therefor, he gives proof of his unfeigned repentance, and doth his endeavours to remove and take off the reproach he hath brought upon Truth and Friends; which, in the love of God, we heartily deſire, for his ſoul's ſake."

Reſpecting divers of the perſons, who ſigned the preceding paper of Denial againſt George Keith, ſee in other places of this hiſtory, *viz.* of Thomas Lloyd, John Simcock, Griffith Owen, William Biles, Samuel Jenings, John Delavall, Joſeph Kirkbride, Hugh Roberts, Robert Owen, &c.

John Lynam came from Derbyſhire; was a preacher and writer among the Quakers; died in Pennſylvania and was buried in Philadelphia, in the Second-month, 1698.

William Stockdale came from Ireland; was a writer and preacher among the Quakers; died in Pennſylvania, and was buried at Philadelphia, in the Seventh-month, 1693.

Daniel Wills, from Northampton, in England, removed to New Jerſey in 1677, and died in Barbadoes;—a preacher among the Quakers.

John Willsford, from Leiceſterſhire; a preacher and writer among the Quakers; removed to New Jerſey, and died at Burlington in that province.

Note, Some of the principal perſons who adhered to *Keith*, and were men of rank, character and reputation, in theſe provinces, and divers of them great preachers and much followed, were, Thomas Budd, George Hutchinſon, Robert Turner, Francis Rawle, John Hart, Charles Reade, &c.

1692. copal Clergy, in *England*, and ſerved there for ſome time, as a Vicar, ordained by the Biſhop of *London*, he afterwards returned to *America;* where, as a *Clergyman*, in orders, he officiated in his new function for about twelve months; and, having there given the *Quakers* all the trouble in his power, he returned again to *England* by way of *Virginia*. In this viſit, it is ſaid, he was generally ſlighted, both by thoſe, who before had been his adherents, and others: And that his conduct was ſo glaringly inconſiſtent with his former pretenſions; and his behaviour towards the *Quakers* ſo manifeſtly ariſing from a malignant diſpoſition of mind, and diſappointed malice, notwithſtanding all the ſuperior abilities, which he poſſeſſed, and made uſe of, he was univerſally deſpiſed by ſober and thinking people of all ſocieties.

He becomes a clergyman and gives the Quakers more trouble in America, &c.

Is generally deſpiſed.

After his return to *England*, he was fixed in a benefice, in *Suſſex;* and continued to write againſt his former Friends, as a bitter enemy; but, as far as appears, with a ſinking reputation. At laſt, on his death-bed, from a well authenticated account, it is aſſerted, he thus expreſſed himſelf; "*I wiſh I had died when I was a Quaker; for then I am ſure it would have been well with my ſoul.*"—This is an inſtance of the weakneſs of the human mind, even, when aided with the acquirements of ſcience and ſuperior knowledge; it ſhews how far from their real intereſt and true happineſs, ſtrong paſſions and unruly tempers may ſometimes hurry, even, men of underſtanding; and how widely different things appear, in times of ambition, rage and revenge, from what they really are, in our cool and reflecting moments.

Account of his Death-bed expreſſions, &c.

This

Note.—"In the year, 1692, the *Quakers*, in *Pennſylvania* made a collection of a ſum of money, in conjunction with their friends, in *England*, for the relief of ſome of their ſociety, who were taken priſoners by the *Sallee-men*, to *Marqueneſs*, in Turkey; and in ſuffering there: which was ſent to the ſociety in *London*, for them to diſpoſe of for that purpoſe." M. S.

This ſchiſm made a great diſturbance, in the province, for a time, and in ſome other places, among the *Quakers;* yet many, or the major part, of thoſe perſons, who had thus ſeparated themſelves, through the conduct of this perſon, are ſaid, to have returned ſoon after to the ſociety. 1692.

Many return again to the Quakers.

But becauſe *Keith* had, (as accounts ſay) by abuſive language and printed publications, vilified divers perſons in the Magiſtracy, tending to ſubvert that abſolutely neceſſary inſtitution and order in civil ſociety, and thereby had drawn upon himſelf ſome judicial proceedings, on that account, ſome perſons have been diſpoſed to charge the *Quakers*, if poſſible, *with perſecution for religion;* and as this appears to be the only caſe, in which their enemies pretend to have juſt ground to accuſe them of this evil, I ſhall, therefore, endeavour here to lay before the reader, that part of this tranſaction as circumſtantially as the accounts remaining of it will permit.

Judicial proceedings againſt him.

In the beginning of the year 1691, a perſon, named *Babit*, with ſome others, ſtole a ſmall ſloop, from a wharf, in *Philadelphia;* and in going down the river with it, committed divers robberies; of which intelligence being early given to the Magiſtrates, three of them gave out a warrant, in the nature of a *Hue and Cry*, to take them, in order to a legal tryal and puniſhment; by virtue of which they were taken, and brought to juſtice. The Magiſtrates, who granted this warrant, being *Quakers*, *George Keith*, and his party, ſoon after took occaſion from thence to repreſent it as inconſiſtent with their principles againſt fighting.—He called *Thomas Lloyd*, the Deputy Governor, who was accounted a perſon of a mild temper and deportment, good ſenſe, and unblemiſhed character, and whoſe unwearyed endeavours, to ſerve him, are ſaid to have merited a different treatment, "*An impudent man, and a pityful Governor;*" aſking him, "*Why he did*

G. Keith cenſures the *magiſtrates.*

And vilifies them, &c.

1692. *did not ſend him to jail?*" and telling him, "*His back had long itched for a whipping; and that he would print and expoſe them all over America, if not over Europe;*" and one of the Magiſtrates, who was well known to be a modeſt and peaceable man, he opprobriouſly called, "*An impudent raſcal:*" Such his conduct is repreſented to have been.

He reflects on the Magiſtrates in print, &c.

Beſides, being much enraged, he had publiſhed ſeveral virulent pieces; one of which indecently reflecting on the above mentioned tranſaction, and on ſeveral of the principal Magiſtrates in their judicial capacity, and thereby leſſening the lawful authority of the magiſtracy, in the view of the baſer ſort of the people, who began thereupon to take greater liberties; wherefore the printers, *William Bradford* and *John M'Comb*, who had publiſhed it, were, by a warrant, from five Magiſtrates, *viz. Arthur Cook*, *Samuel Jenings*, *Samuel Richardſon*, *Humphrey Murray* and *Robert Ewer*, taken up, examined, and upon their contemptuous behaviour to the court and juſtices, in their examination, and upon their refuſal to give ſecurity, to anſwer at court, the uſual practice in all ſimilar occaſions, they were committed; and though they were under no confinement, being entirely at large, on their bare word only, yet, (which ſeems to have been done by them, to anſwer ſome particular deſign) at a certain time, having occaſion to ſign a paper, when they could not be admitted into the priſon itſelf, it is ſaid, they got into the entry of it, and there dated, and ſigned the ſaid paper, as from the priſon:—But they were ſoon diſcharged, without being brought to a tryal.

The Printers committed, &c.

They ſign a paper from the priſon.

G. Keith & Tho. Budd preſented by the Grand Jury, &c.

George Keith and *Thomas Budd* were alſo preſented by the *Grand Jury* of *Philadelphia*, as authors of another book, of the like tendency, in the following words, *viz.* "We, of the Grand Jury, do preſent *George Keith* and *Thomas Budd*, as authors of a book, entitled, *The plea of the innocent*,

nocent, where, in page third, about the latter end of the ſame, they, the ſaid *George Keith* and *Thomas Budd*, defamingly accuſe *Samuel Jenings*, he being a Judge and a Magiſtrate, of this province, of being *too high and imperious in worldly courts*, calling him, *impudent*, *preſumptuous* and *inſolent man*, greatly expoſing his reputation, and of an ill precedent, and *contrary to the law*, *in that caſe made and provided.*" 1692.

The lenity of the magiſtracy is ſaid to have been very remarkable towards the actions and behaviour of divers of theſe people, when compared with the provocations given; which, by apparent deſign, had not only been, but alſo ſtill continued to be, ſo extremely notorious and abuſive, as well as derogatory to the principal perſons in authority, in their judicial capacity, that, it is ſaid, the rabble became greatly encouraged thereby, to deſpiſe and inveigh againſt the acts of government, and to render it more and more difficult to bring offenders to juſtice; it was, therefore, thought proper that this preſentment ſhould be proſecuted; ſo the matter was brought to a tryal, and the parties fined five pounds each; but the fines were never exacted.

They are tryed and fined.

All poſſible art and means were ſaid to be uſed, which the enemies to the *Quakers*, the diſaffected to the adminiſtration, and the more libertine part of the people, in the province were capable of, to magnify theſe judicial proceedings, and to repreſent them, as being on a religious account; and with great aſſiduity, artifice and noiſe, they were by theſe propagated as ſuch, both at home and abroad; upon which the Magiſtrates publiſhed the reaſons of their conduct, in the following paper, *viz.*

These proceedings repreſented as being on a religious account by ſome.

" At a private ſeſſions held for the county of *Philadelphia*, the 25th. of the Sixth-month, 1692, before

" Arthur

1692.

" Arthur Cook,
" Samuel Jenings,
" Samuel Richardſon,
" Humphrey Murray,
" Anthony Morris,
" Robert Ewer,
} Juſtices of the county."

A declaration of the *Magiſtrates*

" WHEREAS, the government of this province being, by the late King of *England's* peculiar favour, veſted, and ſince continued, in Governor *Penn*, who thought fit to make his, and our worthy friend, *Thomas Lloyd*, his Deputy Governor, by, and under whom the Magiſtrates do act, in the government; and, whereas, it hath been proved before us, that *George Keith*, being a reſident here, did, contrary to his duty, publicly revile the ſaid Deputy Governor, by calling him an *impudent man*, telling him, " *He was not fit to be a Governor, and that his name would ſtink;*" with many other ſlighting and abuſive expreſſions, both to him and the Magiſtrates; (and he, that uſeth ſuch exorbitancy of ſpeech towards our ſaid Governor, may be ſuppoſed, will eaſily dare to call the members of Council and Magiſtrates *impudent raſcals*, as he hath lately called one, in an open aſſembly, that was conſtituted, by the Proprietary, to be a Magiſtrate) and he alſo charges the Magiſtrates, who are miniſters here, with engroſſing the magiſterial power into their hands, that they might uſurp authority over him; ſaying alſo, " *He hoped in God he ſhould ſhortly ſee their power taken from them;*" all which he acted in an indecent manner.

" And further, the ſaid *George Keith*, with ſeveral of his adherents, having, ſome few days ſince, with unuſual inſolence, by a printed ſheet, called, " *An appeal*," &c. traduced and vilely miſrepreſented the induſtry, care, readineſs and vigilance of ſome magiſtrates and others here, in their late proceedings againſt the *privateers*, *Babit*, *and his crew*,

crew, in order to bring them to condign puniſhment; whereby to diſcourage ſuch attempts, for the future; and have thereby alſo defamed and arraigned the determinations of the principal judicature, againſt murderers; and not only ſo, but alſo, by wrong inſinuations, have laboured to poſſeſs the readers of their pamphlet, that it is inconſiſtent for thoſe who are miniſters of the goſpel, to act as Magiſtrates; which, if granted, will render our ſaid Proprietary incapable of the powers, given him by the ſaid King's letters patent; and ſo proſtitute the validity of every act of government, more eſpecially in the executive part thereof, to the courteſy and cenſure of all factious ſpirits, and *male-contents*, under the ſame. 1692. A declaration of the *Magiſtrates*

"Now, foraſmuch as we, as well as others, have born, and ſtill do patiently endure, the ſaid *George Keith*, and his adherents, in their many perſonal reflections againſt us, and their groſs revilings of our religious ſociety, yet, we cannot, without the violation of our truſt to the King and government, as alſo to the inhabitants of this government, paſs by, or connive at, ſuch part of the ſaid pamphlet and ſpeeches, that have a tendency to ſedition and diſturbance of the peace, as alſo to the ſubverſion of the preſent government, or, to the aſperſion of the Magiſtrates thereof.

"Therefore, for the undeceiving of all people, we have thought fit, by this public writing, not only to ſignify, that our procedure againſt the perſons now in the *Sheriff's cuſtody*, as well as what we intend againſt others concerned, (in its proper place) reſpects only that part of the ſaid printed ſheet, which appears to have the tendency aforeſaid, and not any part relating to differences in religion; but alſo theſe are to caution ſuch, who are well affected to the ſecurity, peace, and legal adminiſtration of juſtice, in this place, that they give no countenance to any revilers, or contemners of authority,

1692. authority, Magiſtrates or magiſtracy; as alſo, to warn all other perſons, that they forbear the further publiſhing and ſpreading of the ſaid pamphlets, as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril.

"Given under our hands, and ſeal of the county, the day, year and place, aforeſaid."

W. Penn at firſt diſpleas'd with part of theſe proceedings

This affair of *George Keith* gave much concern to *William Penn*, who appeared, at firſt, rather to have cenſured part of theſe proceedings againſt him; whom he regarded as his old friend, more eſpecially his trial; at which by ſome of his letters, he appeared to be much diſpleaſed:* but after he was made fully acquainted with the nature and circumſtances of the whole tranſaction, and was convinced of George Keith's great change, he appears to have been as ready and active as any others, in endeavouring to clear the ſociety from the imputation of being the cauſe of the *unhappy ſchiſm*. But the difference between the province and territories continued ſtill much to affect him, and to increaſe his apprehenſions of very diſagreeable conſequences; as appears by his manner of writing to ſome of the principal perſons, in the adminiſtration, about this time.†

It

* In a letter, dated, Tenth-month, 1693, (ſee hereafter) W. Penn mentions this trial of George Keith, in theſe words, *viz.*

"The trial of Geo. Keith has been induſtriouſly ſpread all about the nation, eſpecially at *London*, at the *Court Weſtminſter Hall*, and the *Parliament Houſe;* the odium it has contracted in ſome, ſtirred up in others; the advantage the diſaffected among us make by it, againſt unity, againſt Friends having power, againſt me and you in particular, are great and lamentable; the Lord put a holy ſtop, by his wiſe power, to this evil work, and bring that which is wrong under his righteous judgment."

† In a letter to a friend, dated, Fourth-month, 1692, (ſee page 357) ſpeaking on this diviſion, he ſays,—"I deſire thee to write to them; which they will mind now more than upon the ſpot; and lay their union upon them; for elſe the Governor of *New York* is like to have all; if he has it not already. The Lord forgive them their unſpeakable injury to me and mine," &c.

In another letter to the principal perſons in the adminiſtration, in the Seventh-month, 1693, he ſays,—"I writ you per *Samuel Jenings* of what was like to enſue upon the differences there, and the conduct I thought fit to be taken," &c.

It cannot reaſonably be imagined that the court of King *William* could be very favourably diſpoſed to a perſon, who had been ſo much in friendſhip with the late King *James*, as *William Penn* had been; though King *William* himſelf ſeems to have had a great regard for him, and his known general great humanity and catholic ſpirit towards all, without diſtinction of party, rendered him reſpected among men of oppoſite principles both in relilion and politics; yet his enemies, more eſpecially in the latter of theſe characters, never had a fairer opportunity againſt him, than at this time; hence, when his young colony moſt needed his preſence and aſſiſtance, they not only effectually prevented his giving it that aid, as before mentioned, but alſo now ſo far miſrepreſented, or magnified, theſe diſorders in it,* which, in great meaſure, aroſe from his too long abſence from it, thus occaſioned by themſelves, or, that, in conſequence thereof, he was, in the year, 1692, deprived of the government of *Pennſylvania* and the *territories*, by King *William* and Queen *Mary;* who granted a commiſſion to *Benjamin Fletcher*, Governor of *New York*, dated October the 21ſt. in the fourth year of *William* and *Mary*, anno 1692, to take them under his government; which commiſſion arrived, in the beginning of the year 1693, and is as follows, *viz.* 1693.

W. Penn's difficulty after the revolution.

W. Penn deprived of of the government of *Pennſylvania*, &c.

Which is conferred on *Benjamin Fletcher*, Governor of *N. York.*

"*William*

* The patent of King *William*, dated, Auguſt, 1694, by which William Penn was reſtored to his government, mentioning the cauſes of the reſumption of it, at this time, by the crown, begins in this manner, *viz.*

"WHEREAS, upon information, that by reaſon of great miſcarriages in the government of our province of *Penſilvania*, in *America*, and the abſence of the Proprietor, the ſame was fallen into diſorder and confuſion," &c.

1693. "*William* and *Mary*, by the grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, &c.

"To our truſty and well-beloved *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſquire, our Captain General and Commander in Chief of our province of *New-York*, and the territories depending thereon, in *America*, Greeting:

His commiſſion. "WHEREAS, by our commiſſion, under our great ſeal of *England*, bearing date the eighteenth day of March, in the fourth year of our reign, we have conſtituted and appointed you, the ſaid *Benjamin Fletcher*, to be our Captain General, and Governor in chief, in and over our province of *New-York*, and the dependences thereon in *America;* and have thereby granted unto you full power and authority, with the adviſe and conſent of our Council, as need ſhall require, to ſummon and call General Aſſemblies of the inhabitants, being freeholders, within the ſaid province, according to the uſage of the province of *New-York;* and that the perſons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the freeholders of the reſpective counties and places, and ſo returned, and having before their ſitting, taken the oaths appointed by act of Parliament, to be taken inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and ſubſcribed the teſt; and without taking and ſubſcribing whereof none ſhall be capable of ſitting, though elected, ſhall be called the General Aſſembly of that our ſaid province, and have thereby granted unto you, the ſaid *Benjamin Fletcher*, by and with the conſent of our ſaid Council and Aſſembly, or the major part of them, full power and authority, to make, conſtitute and ordain, laws, ſtatutes and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and good government of our ſaid province, and of the people and inhabitants thereof; which ſaid laws, ſtatutes and ordinances are to be, as near as may be, agreeable

to

to the laws and ſtatutes of this our kingdom of *England;* provided that all ſuch laws, ſtatutes and ordinances be, within three months, or ſooner, after the making thereof, tranſmitted unto us, under our ſeal of *New-York*, for our approbation, or diſallowance of the ſame; and in caſe any, or all of them, not before confirmed by us, ſhall, at any time, be diſallowed, and not approved, and ſo ſignified by us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, under our, or their ſign manual, or ſignet, or by order of our or their, Privy Council, unto you, the ſaid *Benjamin Fletcher*, or to the Commander in Chief of the province of *New-York*, for the time being, then ſuch, and ſo many of them, as ſhall be ſo diſallowed and not approved, ſhall from thence forth ceaſe, determine and become utterly void, and of none effect: And to the end that nothing may be paſſed, or done, by our ſaid Council and Aſſembly to the prejudice of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, we have hereby willed and ordained, that you, the ſaid *Benjamin Fletcher*, ſhall have and enjoy one negative voice, in the making and paſſing of all laws, ſtatutes and ordinances, as aforeſaid; and that you ſhall and may, from time to time, as you ſhall judge it neceſſary, adjourn, prorogue and diſſolve all General Aſſemblies aforeſaid. 1693. Fletcher's commiſſion.

"We, therefore, repoſing ſpecial truſt and confidence in the prudence, courage and loyalty of you, the ſaid *Benjamin Fletcher*, to be our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over our province of *Pennſylvania*, and in the country of *New-Caſtle*, and all the tracts of land depending thereon, in *America*, and we do accordingly, by theſe preſents, command and require you to take the ſaid province and country under your government, and for the better ordering, governing and ruling over ſaid province and country, and the tracts and territories depending thereon, we do hereby give and grant unto you, the ſaid *Benjamin Fletcher*,

1693. *Fletcher*, all and every the like powers and authorities, as in our ſaid commiſſion, bearing date the eighteenth day of March, in the fourth year of our reign, are given, granted and appointed you, for the ruling and governing our province of *New-York*, to be exerciſed, in like manner, by you, the ſaid *Benjamin Fletcher*, in and over our ſaid province of *Pennſylvania*, and the country of *New-Caſtle*, and the territories and tracts of land, depending thereon in *America*."

Fletcher's commiſſion.

Governor *Fletcher*, upon receiving this commiſſion, repaired to his new government, after having firſt notified his intention by the following letter, directed,

"To the honourable *Thomas Lloyd*, Eſquire, Deputy Governor of *Pennſylvania*.

"SIR,

Governor Fletcher's letter to Go. Lloyd.

"HAVING received their Majeſties' commiſſion, under the great ſeal, for the government of *Pennſylvania*, and being required to make a ſpeedy repair to that province, I think fit to acquaint you, that I propoſe to begin my journey from home, on Monday, the twenty-fourth inſtant, and deſire the Council, and principal freeholders may have notice; that their Majeſties' commands may be communicated to them, ſo ſoon as I arrive, which, I hope, may be the twenty-ninth.

"I am, Sir, your very loving friend,

"BENJAMIN FLETCHER.

"*New-York, April the* 19*th.* 1693."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XII.

Governor Fletcher arrives at Philadelphia.—Names of the members of Aſſembly convened by him, in 1693.*—Council's addreſs to the Governor.—Proceedings of the Governor and Aſſembly, &c.—The Queen's letter to Governor Fletcher, reſpecting the defence of Albany.—Aſſembly's addreſs to the Governor, with his anſwer.—The Aſſembly's remonſtrance, with other proceedings.—A law for the ſupport of government, &c.—Aſſembly's petition to the Governor.—Reſolve of the Aſſembly, and proteſt of ſome of its members.—John Delavall.—Governor Fletcher diſſolves the Aſſembly, appoints William Markham his Deputy, and departs for New-York.—His meſſage to the Aſſembly in* 1694. *Concluſion of Fletcher's adminiſtration, &c.—Death and memorial of the former Deputy Governor, Thomas Lloyd.*

COLONEL *Fletcher* arrived at *Philadelphia* with more pomp, and ſplendid attendance, than had been uſually ſeen before in *Pennſylvania;* and the perſons in the preſent adminiſtration appear to have given up the government to him, without any notification, or order, to them, either from the crown, or the Proprietary; for which, afterwards, in a letter to certain of them, *William Penn* ſeems to have blamed their conduct, eſpecially that of his Deputy *Lloyd;* but yet apprehending their view, in ſo doing, to have been intended for the beſt, he excuſed them. He likewiſe writ to *Fletcher* himſelf, cautioning him to beware of meddling with it,

1693.

Gov. Fletcher arrives at Philadelphia.

The Proprietor diſapproves of the too haſty ſurrender of the *government.*

1693. it, in the preſent circumſtances, and reminding him of his particular obligation to him. This the Proprietary having mentioned in the aboveſaid letter, to his friends in the province, the following anſwer, reſpecting the Governor of *New-York*, was returned by ſix of them, *viz.* *Arthur Cook*, *John Simcock*, *James Fox*, *Samuel Richardſon*, *George Murrie* and *Samuel Carpenter*, in a letter to the Proprietary, dated, *Philadelphia*, the 18th. Eleventh-month, 1693-4, *viz.* "That if the ſaid letter (to *Fletcher*) had come in time (as we are informed) he would hardly have proceeded ſo far, in taking this government; and, therefore, we could have wiſhed it had come ſooner, if haply it had been a means to prevent ſo great trouble and loſs to thee and us; who are (as we ſtand related) great ſharers with thee, in all things tending to the hurt of the province."—

Governor Fletcher, ſoon after his arrival, called an Aſſembly: prior to which, a diſpute, ariſing between him and the Council, reſpecting the mode of electing and convening them, occaſioned the following addreſs to him, from the members of the Council, delivered on the 29th. of April, *viz.*

"*To*

Note.—In the Third-month, 1693, the Names of the Members of Aſſembly, convened by Governor Fletcher, on the ſixteenth, were—

For Bucks.	*For Cheſter.*	*For Kent.*
Joſeph Growdon, *Speaker*,	John Simcock,	John Brinkloe,
John Swift,	George Maris,	John Walker,
Henry Paynter.	David Lloyd.	William Manloe.

For Philadelphia.	*For Newcaſtle.*	*For Suſſex.*
Samuel Carpenter,	Edward Blake,	Albertus Jacobs,
Samuel Richardſon,	Cornelius Empſon,	Thomas Pemberton,
John White,	Henry Williams,	Samuel Preſton.
James Fox.	Richard Halwell.	

"To *Benjamin Fletcher*, Captain General, and Governor in chief," &c. 1693.

"The humble addreſs of the freemen of the province of *Pennſylvania*, preſented by their delegates, Members of the Provincial Council, ſheweth,

The Council's addreſs to governor Fletcher.

"THAT, whereas, the late King *Charles* the the ſecond, in the thirty-third year of his reign, by letters patent, under the great ſeal of *England*, did, for the conſideration therein mentioned, grant unto *William Penn* and his aſſigns, this colony, or tract of land, erecting the ſame into a Province, calling it *Pennſylvania*, and conſtituting the ſaid *William Penn*, abſolute Proprietary of the ſaid Province, ſaving (among other things) the ſovereignty thereof, with power alſo, by virtue of the ſaid royal charter, to the ſaid *William Penn*, his deputies and lieutenants, to make laws, with the advice and aſſent of the freemen of the ſaid province, or the greateſt part of them, or of their delegates, or deputies, whom, for the enacting of the ſaid laws, when, as often as need required, he, the ſaid *William Penn*, ſhould aſſemble, in ſuch ſort, as to him ſhould ſeem beſt, with divers other great powers, immunities and privileges, in the ſame charter contained, which, relation being thereunto had, may more at large appear.

"By virtue, and in purſuance whereof the ſaid Proprietary, *William Penn*, with the advice and conſent of the freemen of this Province, in General Aſſembly met, at *Philadelphia*, (in 1683) did enact, that the time for the meeting of the freemen, to chuſe their Deputies, to repreſent them in Provincial Council, and General Aſſembly, ſhould be on the 10th. day of the Firſt-month, yearly; and the members choſen, for the Provincial Council (conſiſting of three perſons out of each county) ſhould give their attendance, within twenty

1693. twenty days after election, in order to propose bills; and the members of Assembly, being six out of each county, should meet on the tenth of the Third-month, called May, yearly, in order to pass those proposed bills into laws; but, in case any of the said members should either be of ill fame, or wilfully absent from their service, or happen to die, it is provided by another law, (made in 1684) that it shall be lawful for the Proprietary and Governor, within ten days after knowledge of the same, to issue out a writ to the Sheriff of the county, for which the party was chosen, immediately to summon the freemen to elect another member, &c.

The Council's address to governor Fletcher.

"Now, forasmuch as the present emergency of affairs, in this province, may require a General Assembly to be speedily called, and since we conceive it hath pleased the King and Queen so far to countenance our laws and constitution as to direct the present governancy to rule thereby, until the laws be duly made, to alter, or amend the same;

"We, therefore, earnestly desire, that no other measures may be taken, for electing, or convening, our legislative power, than our recited laws and constitutions of this government prescribe, the rather, for that the said King did, by his letters patent, enjoin, require and command, that the laws made, as aforesaid, should be most absolute and available in law, and that all the liege people and subjects of the said late King, his heirs and successors, should observe and keep the same inviolable, in these parts.

"Joseph Growdon,
"John Bristow,
"John Delavall,
"John Simcock,
"Hugh Roberts,
"Samuel Lewis,
"Richard Hough."

The

The Aſſembly, being met on the 16th. of the Third-month, preſented their Speaker, *Joſeph Growdon*, to the Governor, for his approbation; who being accepted, the oaths and teſts were preſented to the whole houſe, in the manner of other governments, under the immediate adminiſtration of the crown; but ſome of the members, being ſcrupulous of taking oaths, and refuſing to be ſworn, were indulged with ſubſcribing to the declarations and profeſſions, mentioned in the act of Parliament, for *liberty of conſcience*, made in the firſt year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. This the Governor told them was an *act of grace*, and *not of right*, ſo as to be drawn into precedent in future. 1693. Proceedings of the Governor & Aſſembly

It doth not appear that either the Proprietary, or the people of *Pennſylvania*, had forfeited thoſe rights and privileges, whoſe enjoyment had been the compact of their ſettlement of the province; of which privileges, thoſe which reſpected their religious, or conſcientious ſcruples were the chief; but the contrary rather is manifeſt: For notwithſtanding what was alledged for depriving the Proprietary of the government, it was well known that the ſuſpicion of his adhering too much to King *James* was the principal, if not the only, cauſe for rendering him incapable of attending ſo properly to it, as it ſeemed at that time to require: But nothing was ever proved, to confirm what was alledged againſt him, in that reſpect; though it injured him ſo far, as to oblige him, for a time, to be in ſecret, and to be abſent too long from his province; whereby ſome diſorders happened in it, that in all probability, would otherwiſe have been prevented; but none of ſuch magnitude, as to violate, or prevent, the regular adminiſtration of juſtice, as ſeems to have been alledged by the enemies of the proſperity of the province; much leſs to give juſt occaſion for depriving the coloniſts of The government & privileges of Pennſylvania not forfeited.

1693. their dearly bought rights and privileges, granted by charter, confirmed by laws, and familiarized by cuſtom; though it might be called a favour, to enjoy them, where power alone has the rule, without having any regard to juſtice: For notwithſtanding the Governor was changed, yet it was preſumed the government, or conſtitution, was not, in conſequence thereof, to be violated, or altered, and that the inhabitants of *Pennſylvania* had as juſt a right to be governed *according to the uſage of Pennſylvania*, and their own laws, then in force, as thoſe of *New-York had to be governed according to the uſage of that province*, though their uſages were different, ſo long as juſtice was equally well adminiſtered by the former, as by the latter, and in a manner more agreeable to them.

Vide Fletcher's commiſſion, &c. page 378.

The Aſſembly, however, in conſideration of the preſent circumſtances of affairs, thought it moſt prudent to ſubmit, though not conſiſtent with a privilege, to which, in their apprehenſion, they had a right, and below the juſtice of their claim; and, for the preſent, acknowledged the ſame, as *an act of grace and favour*, proceeding from the *juſtice* and *kindneſs* of the Governor.

The Aſſembly being qualified, the Governor communicated to them a letter,* which he had received,

* The Queen's letter to *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over the Province of *Pennſylvania*, &c.

"*Mary R.*

"*Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well.*

"WHEREAS, it has been repreſented unto us in council, in behalf of our province of *New York*, in *America*, that the ſame having been at great expence, for the preſervation and defence of *Albany*, its *Frontiers*, againſt the *French* (by the loſs of which province the inhabitants of *Maryland* and *Virginia* would not be able to live, but in garriſon) and having h therto preſerved that poſt, the burden thereby is now intolerable to the inhabitants there. We think it reaſonable and neceſſary that our ſeveral colonies and provinces of *New England*, *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Pennſylvania* ſhould be aiding and aſſiſting. from time to time, to the Governor, or Commander in Chief, of our ſaid province of *New York*, in the maintenance and defence of it, during the preſent war; and accordingly

received, in the laſt year, from the Queen, ſetting forth, that the expence, for the preſervation and defence of *Albany*, againſt the *French*, which had been intolerable to the inhabitants there; and that, as it was a frontier, by which ſeveral of the other colonies were, in ſome meaſure, defended, it was thought reaſonable that thoſe colonies ſhould be aſſiſting, from time to time, to the government of *New-York*, in the maintenance and defence of it, during the war. 1693. Proceedings of the Aſſembly.

The firſt queſtion put by the Aſſemby, after their meeting, was, How far the laws of the province, and conſtitution of the government, founded on the powers of the King's letters patent to the Proprietary, *William Penn*, were in force? upon which it was unanimouſly *Reſolved*, "That the laws of this province, that were in force and practice before the arrival of this preſent Governor, are ſtill in force; and that the Aſſembly have a right humbly to move the Governor for a continuation, or confirmation thereof."—Accordingly the following addreſs was drawn up and preſented to the Governor, *viz.* Reſolution of the Aſſembly.

"To

accordingly our will and pleaſure is, That upon the application of the ſaid Governor, or Commander in Chief, you do immediately ſend him ſuch aid, or aſſiſtance, in men or otherwiſe, for the ſecurity of the ſaid province, from the attempts of the *French* or *Indians*, as the condition of the ſaid plantations, under your government, ſhall permit; and our further pleaſure is, that as ſoon as conveniently may be, you agree with the Governors of *New England*, *Virginia* and *Maryland*, unto whom we have ſent the like directions, upon a quota of men, or other aſſiſtance, to be given by each colony, or province, for the defence of *New York*, as occaſion may require the ſame; and that you return a ſpeedy account of your proceedings herein, to the end that further directions may be given, as ſhall be neceſſary for ſecuring the fort of *Albany*, and the province of *New York*, from the attempts of our enemies, in thoſe parts: and ſo we bid you farewell.

"Given at our court, at *Whitehall*, the 11th. day of October, 1692, in the fourth year of our reign.

"By her Majeſty's command,

"NOTTINGHAM."

1693. "To *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, of the province of *Pennſylvania*, and country of *New-caſtle*,

"The humble addreſs of the Freemen of ſaid province and country, Sheweth,

The addreſs of the Aſſembly.

"THAT ſince it hath pleaſed the King and Queen, that the abſence of our Proprietary's perſonal attendance, in this government, ſhould be ſuperſeded by thee, or thy Lieutenant, we, the Repreſentatives of the Freemen of the ſaid province and territories (with due reſpect to the powers of thy commiſſion, and hearty acknowledgment of thy good-will, care and tenderneſs towards us) do readily acquieſce with the King's pleaſure therein, earneſtly beſeeching that our procedure in legiſlation may be according to the uſual method and laws of this government, founded upon the late King's letters patent; which we humbly conceive to be yet in force, and therefore, we deſire the ſame may be confirmed unto us, as our rights and liberties.—And we, with all faithfulneſs and ſincerity, do give what aſſurance we are capable of, in the preſent circumſtances we are, to anſwer the Queen's letter, and thy requeſt, according to our ability.

"*Third-month* 17*th*. 1693."

To which the Governor returned this anſwer, *viz.*

"*Gentlemen*,

The Governor's anſwer to the Aſſembly.

"I, with the Council, have conſidered your addreſs, and am ſorry to find your deſires grounded upon ſo great miſtakes.—The abſence of the Proprietary is the leaſt cauſe mentioned in their Majeſties' letters patent, for their Majeſties' aſſerting their undoubted right of governing their ſubjects, in this province: There are reaſons of greater moment; as, the *neglects* and *miſcarriages*, in the late adminiſtration; the want of neceſſary defence againſt

againſt the enemy, and the danger of being loſt from the crown. 1693.

" The conſtitution of their Majeſties' government, and that of *Mr. Penn*, are in a direct oppoſition, one to the other; if you will be tenacious in ſtickling for this, it is a plain demonſtration, uſe what words you pleaſe, that, indeed, you decline the other.

" I ſhall readily concur with you, in doing any thing, that may conduce to your ſafety, proſperity and ſatisfaction, provided your requeſts are conſiſtent with the laws of *England*, their Majeſties' letters patent, and the truſt and confidence their Majeſties' have repoſed in me.

" Time is very precious to me, I hope you will deſiſt from all unneceſſary debates, and fall, in earneſt, upon thoſe matters, I have already mentioned to you, and for which you are principally convened."

The debates of the Houſe, upon this anſwer to their addreſs, produced the following remonſtrance to the Governor, *viz.*

" To *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over the Province of *Pennſylvania*, Country of *New Caſtle*, and tracts of Land depending;—

" The remonſtrance of the Freemen of the ſaid Province and Country, in Aſſembly met,

" Humbly ſheweth,

" THAT, having, with all dutiful reſpect, read and conſidered the Governor's anſwer to our addreſs, this morning, We, in anſwer thereunto, with ſubmiſſion ſay, we conceive that our deſires were not grounded on miſtakes, in relation to the Proprietary's abſence. The Aſſembly's remonſtrance.

" But

1693. "But, as to the other clauſe, mentioned by the Governor, of their Majeſties' aſſerting their undoubted right of governing their ſubjects, in this Province, &c. we, with all readineſs and chearfulneſs, own accordingly to the right of the King and Queen, whoſe proſperity and happy reign we heartily deſire; and as to the other reaſons rendered, for ſuperſeding our Proprietary's governancy, we apprehend they are founded on *miſinformations:* for the courts of juſtice were open, in all counties, in this government, and juſtice duly executed, from the higheſt crimes of treaſon and murder, to the determining the loweſt differences about property, before the date, or arrival of the Governor's commiſſion; neither do we apprehend that the province was in danger of being loſt from the crown, although the government was in the hands of ſome, whoſe principles were not for war; and we conceive that the preſent governancy hath no direct oppoſition (with reſpect to the King's government here in general) to our Proprietary, *William Penn's*, though the exerciſe of thy authority, at preſent, ſuperſedes that of our ſaid Proprietary; nevertheleſs we readily own thee for our lawful Governor, ſaving to ourſelves, and thoſe whom we repreſent, our and their juſt rights and privileges.

"JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker.*

"*The 17th. of the Third-month*, 1693."

What reply the Governor made, or whether any, does not appear; but the Aſſembly, having thus modeſtly aſſerted their privileges, proceeded to enact ſundry laws. One for the ſupport of government, and ſuch others as were thought neceſſary, either to be renewed, or repealed, for the public good, being ſent up to the Governor and Council, the latter were detained by them for ſome time, to ſee what the Aſſembly would do, in conſequence of the Queen's letter. This delay, with

with the Governor's aſſerting, "that the Aſſembly ſhould have no account of the bill, (of ſupply, or for the ſupport of government*) till they came, in a full 1693.

* The law, for the ſupport of government, was as follows, *viz.*

"*Anno regni* Gulielmi & Mariæ, *regis & reginæ* Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, *quinto.*

"An act for granting to King *William* and Queen *Mary* the rate of one Penny per Pound upon the clear value of all real and perſonal eſtates, and ſix ſhillings per head, upon ſuch as are not otherwiſe rated by this act, to be employed by the Governor of this province of *Pennſylvania*, and Territories thereof, for the time being, towards the ſupport of this government.

"SINCE it hath pleaſed the King and Queen to take the government of this province and country into their own hands, and ſupply the abſence of our Proprietor by ſo worthy a perſon, who gives us ſuch great aſſurances of his good deſires to preſerve and confirm us in our rights and liberties, We, the Repreſentatives, met in General Aſſembly, with humble ſubmiſſion to the King and Queen's pleaſure therein, and with all dutiful acknowledgments of their love and tender regard to the reaſonable laws and conſtitutions, as well as protection, of this government; do humbly preſent the ſaid King and Queen with the free gift of the rates and aſſeſſments herein after mentioned; which we deſire they will pleaſe to accept of, as a teſtimony of our dutiful affections towards them; and we do likewiſe deſire, that the King and Queen would be pleaſed to give and allow one-half thereof to *Benjamin Fletcher*, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over this province and country, &c. That it may be ſo enacted.

Be it, therefore, enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Repreſentatives, convened in General Aſſembly, and by the authority of the ſame, That all and every perſon and perſons, within this government, having perſonal eſtates, either in their poſſeſſion, or in the poſſeſſion of others, in truſt for them, over and beſides the houſehold goods and implements they uſe, and ſuch ſums of money as they really owe, or ought to pay, ſhall yield and pay to the uſe aforeſaid, after the rate of one penny per pound; and to the end that this tax may be laid with ſuch equality and indifference as may be, upon all lands within this government, and that a due regard may be had to the many tracts of uncultivated and unimproved lands, which produce rather a charge, than profit, to the owners thereof, *Be it enacted, by the authority aforeſaid,* That all lands, and other real, as alſo the perſonal eſtates, ſhall be, and are hereby charged, for one year only, and no longer, with one penny for one pound clear value.

And be further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all freemen, within this province and territories, who have been out of their ſervitude, by the ſpace of ſix months, and ſhall not be otherwiſe rated by this act, nor worth one hundred pounds, ſhall pay unto the uſe aforeſaid, the ſum of ſix ſhillings per head: *Provided always,* That our Chief Proprietary and his late Deputies in government, ſhall not be aſſeſſed, or otherwiſe chargeable, by virtue of this act: *Provided alſo,* That no perſon, or perſons, ſhall be taxed by this act, who have a great charge of children, and become indigent in the world, and are ſo far in debt, that the clear value of their real and perſonal eſtate doth not amount to thirty pounds.

And

1693. a full houſe, before him, to give the laſt ſanction to the laws;"—"and, that he ſaw nothing would do,

And, be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, for the better aſſeſſing, ordering, levying and collecting the ſeveral ſums of money, to be paid as aforeſaid, and for the more effectual putting this act in execution, it ſhall and may be lawful for all, or any two, or more, of the Members of this Aſſembly, within the reſpective counties, for which they ſerve, to call to their aſſiſtance three of the Juſtices, or other ſubſtantial freeholders of the reſpective counties, and within two months after the publication hereof, to meet together at ſuch place, or places, within each county, as they ſhall reſpectively agree upon, in order to aſſeſs the rates, mentioned in this act, and alſo to appoint Receivers, or Collectors, to receive or gather, the ſame; and, after ſuch meeting had, the ſaid Aſſeſſors ſhall, by warrant from ſome Juſtice of the Peace of the proper county, cauſe the Conſtables, within the ſaid county, to bring in certificates, in writing, of the names of every perſon, reſiding within the limits of thoſe places, with which they ſhall be charged, and of the ſubſtances and values of every of them, who are to be rated by this act; which ſaid Conſtables ſhall be paid, or allowed by the Collectors, three pence per pound, for their trouble therein. And the ſaid Aſſeſſors are hereby enjoined to aſcertain and inform themſelves, by all lawful means they can, of the true valuation of the clear eſtates, both real and perſonal, within thoſe counties and limits, with which they ſhall be charged reſpectively; and, being ſo hereof aſcertained, they are to aſſeſs themſelves and others for, and in reſpect of, the ſaid eſtates, according to the rates aforementioned, having due regard to the ability of the people, and to the unprofitable land they hold; and thereupon to appoint ſuch, and ſo many collectors, or receivers, thereof, as they the ſaid aſſeſſors, ſhall think fit, within their reſpective limits; for which ſervice the ſaid aſſeſſors ſhall receive, or be allowed, ſix pence per pound out of the ſaid aſſeſſment.

"*And, be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid*, That the rates, aſſeſſments and taxations, aforeſaid, ſhall be made and aſcertained with what expedition may be, ſo that the moiety, or half part, thereof, may be levyed, collected and paid to the receivers reſpectively, on or before, the 10th. day of the Ninth-month next, and the other half thereof, on, or before, the 10th. day of the Second-month, 1694, at ſuch places, as the ſaid aſſeſſors ſhall appoint, which ſaid aſſeſſments, with the names and ſeveral values of their reſpective eſtates, together alſo with the real ſums, levied by this act, ſhall be returned, and fairly certified by the ſaid collectors, to the next General Aſſembly, after the ſame is aſſeſſed, as aforeſaid.

"*And, be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid*, That, if any of the ſaid aſſeſſors ſhall neglect or refuſe, to make ſuch aſſeſſments, as by this act is required, or in caſe the collectors, ſo, as aforeſaid, choſen, ſhall deny, neglect, or refuſe, to collect any ſum, or ſums, of money in form above mentioned, aſſeſſed, and be convicted thereof, ſhall be fined at the diſcretion of the juſtices of the reſpective county courts.

"*And, be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid*, That, if any perſon, or perſons, whatſoever, within this government, who ſhall be aſſeſſed, or rated any ſum, or ſums of money, by virtue of this act, to be levied, ſhall deny, refuſe, or delay, to pay the ſame, that then it ſhall be lawful for any ſuch collector, by virtue of a warrant, under the hand and ſeal of any Juſtice of the Peace, for the county, where ſuch offender ſhall reſide, who, by virtue of this act, are required and authorized to grant ſuch warrants, to levy the ſame by diſtreſs and ſale of ſuch perſon's, or perſons' goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any be,

do, but an annexion to *New-York*;"—induced the house to ſend the following petition to the Governor. 1693.

"To

the owner, after the ſum aſſeſſed, or diſtrained for, with all charges, are deducted.

"*And, be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid*, That the monies, or effects, gathered, or received, by the ſaid collectors, within their reſpective limits, by virtue of this act, ſhall, from time to time, be duly paid to ſuch Treaſurer as ſhall be appointed by the Governor, to receive the ſame; whoſe receipts ſhall be a ſufficient diſcharge unto ſuch collectors; which ſaid collectors, for gathering the ſaid particular ſums, ſhall retain in their hands reſpectively, for every twenty ſhillings by them paid in, as aforeſaid, the ſum of one ſhilling, as a reward for their pains and ſervice; *Provided always*, That if any perſon, or perſons certified and aſſeſſed, or rated for, or in reſpect of any eſtate, for which, by this act, he, or they, is or may be rated, do find him, or themſelves, aggrieved with ſuch rating, and do, within ten days after, complain to any three of the aſſeſſors, that ſigned, or allowed, his, or their rate, who ſhall, within ten days after ſuch complaint, particularly examine the perſon complaining, or any other perſon, touching the value of the complainant's real and perſonal eſtate; and thereupon the ſaid aſſeſſors ſhall abate, defaulk, or increaſe the ſaid aſſeſſments, according as complaints ſhall appear, either by the party's own atteſt, or proof of others.

"*And, be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid*, That, if any perſon be ſued, for any thing done, in purſuance of this act, ſuch perſon, ſo ſued, may plead the general iſſue, and give this act in ſpecial matter, in evidence; and if the plaintiff, or proſecutor, ſhall be caſt, the defendant ſhall recover treble damages; *Provided always*, That none ſhall be hereby puniſhed, by virtue of this act, for any neglect, or miſcarriage, in the execution thereof, but within one year after ſuch offence; *Provided alſo, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid* That the ſeveral collectors ſhall gather and receive the reſpective ſums aſſeſſed, as aforeſaid, in current money of this Province, or for want thereof, in good merchantable country produce, at the current market price."

Note, From the ſums raiſed by this tax of one penny in the pound, in each county, as exhibited below, from the votes of Aſſembly, may pretty nearly be eſtimated the value of all the private eſtates and property, at that time, in the province and territories, *viz.*

Counties.	*Sums.*
Philadelphia,	£314 11 11
Newcaſtle,	143 15 0
Suſſex,	101 1 9
Kent,	88 2 10
Cheſter,	65 0 7
Bucks,	48 4 1
Total.	£760 16 2

1693. "To *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over the province of *Pennſylvania*, country of *New-Caſtle*, and tracts of land depending,

"The humble *petition* of the Freemen of the ſaid province and country, in Aſſemby met,

"Sheweth,

Aſſembly's petition to the Governor.

"THAT they, being deeply ſenſible of the many inconveniences that may attend a miſunderſtanding between the Governor and Freemen, do earneſtly deſire all occaſions may be taken away, and with all humility, beg the Governor would be pleaſed, in tender regard to the truſt, lodged in the ſaid Repreſentatives, to condeſcend ſo far, as to inform them, which of their bills the Governor will accept, amend, or reject; that, by knowing which of the ſaid bills are diſliked by the Governor, the Aſſembly may diſpoſe themſelves to acquieſce with the Governor's pleaſure, or endeavour to ſatisfy the Governor and Council with the reaſonableneſs of the ſaid bills; which, being done, will remove all doubts and troubles from our minds, upon that occaſion, and we ſhall proceed with chearfulneſs to finiſh this General Aſſembly, to the King's honour, and the general ſatisfaction of the Governor and government.

"*Third-month* 31*ſt.* 1693."

Notwithſtanding the ſoft and pliant terms of this petition, the Aſſembly unanimouſly reſolved, "That all bills ſent to the Governor and Council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to this

In the latter end of the year 1693, died, in *Philadelphia*, *John Delavall*, a member of the Provincial Council. He had formerly been a Captain of the militia in *New York*; but, afterwards, joining in religious ſociety with the Quakers, he became an eminent Preacher among them; and is ſaid to have been one of the firſt, or early ſettlers in *New Jerſey*; from whence he removed to *Philadelphia*: where, having married *Hannah*, the eldeſt daughter of *Thomas Lloyd*, he continued a uſeful and worthy member of ſociety till his death. M. S.

this houſe, to have their further approbation, upon ſuch amendments, before they can have their final aſſent, to paſs into laws;"—And there was a party in the houſe, who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted their undoubted rights, as founded on their then preſent charter of privileges, but, being the ſmaller number, all they could do terminated in the following proteſt, *viz.* 1693.

Reſolution of the Aſſembly.

"*Philadelphia, Fourth-month 1ſt.* 1693.

"WE, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, Repreſentatives of the Freemen of his province, in Aſſembly, do declare, it is the undoubted right of this houſe to receive back from the Governor and Council all ſuch bills as are ſent up for their approbation, or amendments, and debate the ſame, as the body of the bills, and that the denial of that right is deſtructive to the Freemen of making laws; and we do alſo declare, it is the right of the Aſſembly, that before any bill, for ſupplies, be preſented, for the laſt ſanction, aggrievances ought to be redreſſed:—therefore, we, with proteſtation (ſaving our juſt rights in Aſſembly) do declare, that the aſſent of ſuch of us as were for ſending up the bill, for the ſupply, this morning, was merely in conſideration of the Governor's ſpeedy departure, but that it ſhould not be drawn into example, or precedent, for the future.

Proteſt of ſome Members of Aſſembly.

"David Lloyd, Samuel Richardſon,
"James Fox, John Simcock,
"John Swift, Samuel Preſton,
"John White, Samuel Carpenter,
"George Maris, Henry Paynter."

According to the Aſſembly's petition the Governor ſent back ſeveral bills, with his objections, for amendments; which, being agreed to, were afterwards paſſed. And the rolls of ſuch old laws, as the Aſſembly did not think fit to repeal, to prevent any doubt of their being in force, being ſent up

1693. up to him, were ſigned by him, for confirmation. After which he diſſolved the Aſſembly, by their own advice, and departed for his government at *New-York*, having firſt appointed *William Markham*, Lieutenant Governor in his ſtead, in *Pennſylvania*.

Governor Fletcher appoints W. Markham his Deputy, and goes to New York.

During Governor *Fletcher's* adminiſtration here, he appears to have been ſeveral times in the province, but never long at one time. He met the
1694. Aſſembly again in the Third-month, 1694; and, in a meſſage to them, dated, *Philadelphia*, May 23d. 1694, he acquaints them,

Gov. Fletcher's meſſage to the Aſſembly.

"That he had been diſappointed in meeting them ſooner, according to his intention, and direction given for calling the Aſſembly, by reaſon of being under a neceſſity to repair to *Albany*, on intimation given, that the *five nation Indians*, which had been ſo long faithful to the *Engliſh*, were now debauched to the *French intereſt*, and entering into a league with the Governor of *Canada;* which was a matter of the higheſt importance to the neighbouring colonies, and required his utmoſt abilities and application to prevent.

"That he was come to lay the whole affair before them, aſſuring them, that their own *Indians* here would be compelled to join the fatal confederacy.

"That, in conſequence hereof, he had ſeen fourſcore fine farms all deſerted about *Albany*.

"That the *Jerſeys* had done more for the common defence than all the other adjacent provinces.

"That he conſidered their principles, that they could not carry arms, nor levy money, to make war, though for their own defence, yet he hoped they would not refuſe to feed the hungry and cloath the naked; that was, to ſupply the *Indian* nations with ſuch neceſſaries, as may influence their continued friendſhip to theſe provinces.

"Laſtly,

"Laſtly, that he was ready, as far as in him lay, conſiſtent with the rules of loyalty, and a juſt regard to liberty and property, to redreſs their grievances, if they had any." 1694.

During this, and the ſucceeding ſeſſion, in September, this year, ſeveral laws were paſſed; which ends the adminiſtration of Governor Fletcher.— End of Governor Fletcher's adminiſtration.

But what return was made by the houſe to his requeſt, in the latter part of the above meſſage, does not clearly appear; only I find, that, in a letter of the Proprietary, dated, *Briſtol*, fifth of the Ninth-month, 1695, which ſeems to allude to part of the preſent proceedings, he obſerves and complains of there being *factious perſons in the colony*, that diſturbed, or threatened the tranquillity of the government;—and he blames the province *For refuſing to ſend money to New-York*, for what he calls a *common defence*, urging their compliance, and expreſſing the danger of their *overſetting* the government again, *by ſuch refuſal;* which, before that time, was reſtored to him, *Markham* being his Deputy.* W. Penn complains of & blames the *province* in part.

On the 10th. of the Seventh-month this year (1694) died *Thomas Lloyd*, the Proprietary's late Deputy Governor, aged about fifty-four years. His father was a perſon of ſome fortune, rank and eſteem; of an ancient family and eſtate, called *Dolobran*, in *Montgomeryſhire*, in *North Wales*. This his ſon *Thomas Lloyd* was a younger brother, and was educated in the beſt ſchools; from which he was removed to the univerſity of *Oxford;* where he is ſaid to have made conſiderable proficiency; and, Death and character of Tho. Lloyd.

* This letter was directed to Arthur Cook, John Simcock, Samuel Carpenter, John Goodſon, Samuel Richardſon, Robert Turner, Phineas Pemberton, and David Lloyd.

In a poſtſcript to this letter, he further declares,—"I muſt ſay, that what I have ſpent upon the province, as Governor and Planter, is the foundation of my preſent incumbrance, as Ph. F. (Philip Ford) knows, and aſſerted to the Lords of Plantations lately, to be £4000 more in the whole, than I ever received for lands, beſides what it has coſt me here."

1694. and, being endowed with good natural parts, and an amiable diſpoſition of mind, he attracted the regard and eſteem of perſons of rank and figure, and was afterwards in the way to conſiderable preferment, in the world; but, being of a ſober and religious way of thinking, he joined with the *Quakers*, and renounced all worldly conſiderations, for that peace of mind, and real mental felicity, which he believed to be the effect of true religion; and became an highly eſteemed preacher in that ſociety.* In conſequence of which, having ſuffered much unmerited reproach, perſecution and loſs of property, in his native country, he afterwards removed to *Pennſylvania*, among the firſt, or early ſettlers, and was one of *William Penn's* moſt intimate friends. He was moſtly one of the principal perſons in the government, from his firſt arrival, and of very great ſervice in the public affairs: Yet he appears to have ſo much diſliked ſuch a public kind of life, that, from the ſole view of ſerving his country, when it ſo much needed it, he is ſaid to have accepted of the eminent offices, which, at different times, he held in the adminiſtration, &c. for he was ſo far from making advantage, or profit, to himſelf, by thus devoting his ſuperior abilities, that it is aſſerted, he worſted, or leſſened, his private eſtate thereby.

Death and character of Th. Lloyd.

In both his civil and religious capacity, in divers reſpects, the great utility of his conduct and management, during the infant and early ſtate of the

* There is extant in manuſcript, partly obliterated, minutes of a religious diſpute or conference, held at *Lanfwillin*, in September, 1681, between the biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, and *Charles* and *Thomas Lloyd*, brothers, with a number of others on both ſides, as taken by the biſhop, entitled,

"An account of a conference between the right reverend the Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, and Mr. *Charles Lloyd* and Mr. *Thomas Lloyd*," &c.

It is a learned and ingenious diſpute, marked with moderation, on both ſides, chiefly in the ſyllogiſtical method, on *baptiſm*, and what is called the *Lord's Supper*, &c. with divers Greek quotations and explanations, from the New Teſtament,—occaſioned by the Biſhop's requeſting them to give their reaſons for their ſeparation from the church, &c.

The conference, &c. continued ſeveral days.

the province and colony, appear to have been very extenſive and conſpicuous, till his death; inſomuch that he was univerſally beloved by all degrees of the people, both for his good ſervices, and the excellency of thoſe amiable qualities, which, from the advantages of birth, education, religion, and good ſenſe, are repreſented to have united in him, to diſtinguiſh his character, and render him a bright and ſhining example of piety, virtue and integrity, through every department, ſtage and viciſſitude of both his private and public life.* 1694.

Death and character of Th. Lloyd.

* He died on the ſixth day of his ſickneſs; during which time, his expreſſions to his friends, about him, are mentioned, as expreſſive of the ſtate of his mind, and the conſequence of a life, well ſpent; ſome of which were,—" I die in unity and in love with all faithful friends; I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith; which ſtands not in the wiſdom of words, but in the power of God; I have ſought not for ſtrife and contention, but for the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt and the ſimplicity of the Goſpel;—I lay down my head in peace, and deſire you may all do ſo."——" Friends farewell all."—

Note.—The above account and character of him is the purport of a much larger written memorial, ſigned by thirty-two names, &c.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XIII.

William Penn cleared of the accuſations againſt him, and his government reſtored.—His letter on this ſubject and other things.—Death of his wife, Gulielma Maria.—He commiſſionates William Markham his Lieutenant Governor.—Copy of the inſtrument, by which he was reinſtated in his government in 1694.—*His uſeful employment in England. His ſecond marriage.—Death of his eldeſt ſon, Springett.—Ancient teſtimony of the Quakers renewed, &c.—William Penn viſits his friends, the Quakers, in Ireland, &c.—Governor Markham's adminiſtration.—His writ for calling an Aſſembly, in* 1695.—*Proceedings of the Aſſembly in* 1696. *Their remonſtrance, &c.—Further proceedings of the Legiſlature; wherein a bill of ſettlement is agreed to and paſſed, called the third frame of government, &c.— Names of the members of Aſſembly in* 1698.—*State of the province about this time.—A Proclamation.*

1693. W. Penn's *enlargement, &c.*

WE now return to *William Penn;* who, in the latter part of the year 1693, through the mediation of his friends, the Lords, *Rocheſter*, *Ranelagh* and *Sidney*, in which the Lord *Somers*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and Sir *John Trenchard* were alſo aſſiſting, was admitted to make his innocency appear; which he did ſo effectually, that he was not only readily acquitted of the charge againſt him, but alſo had his government reſtored.

The

The three first mentioned Lords went to the King, on the 25th. of November, and represented to him *William Penn's* case, "As not only hard, but oppressive; that there was nothing against him, but what impostors, or those, that were fled, or that had, since their pardon, refused to verify, (and asked *William Penn* pardon, for saying what they did) alledged against him; that they (the said Lords) had long known *William Penn*, some of them thirty years, and had never known him to do an ill thing, but many good offices; and, that, if it was not for being thought to go abroad in defiance of the government, he would have done it two years ago; that he was, therefore, willing to wait to go about his business, as before, with leave, that he might be the better respected, in the liberty he took to follow it."* 1693.

Three *Lords* intercede with the King in favour of W. Penn.

King

* *William Penn* mentions this, among other things, in the following manner, in a letter, directed to Thomas Lloyd, Samuel Carpenter, John Simcock Samuel Richardson, Samuel Jenings, Henry Murray, Arthur Cook, John Jones, &c. *viz.*

"*Hodsden, the 11th. of the Tenth-month*, 1693.

"*Friends*,

"THIS comes by the Pennsylvania Merchant, ——— *Harrison*, commander, and C. Saunders, merchant. By them and this know, that it hath pleased God to work my enlargement, by three Lords representing my case, as not only hard, but oppressive; that there was nothing against me, but what impostors, or those that are fled, or that have, since their pardon, refused to verify, (and asked me pardon, for saying what they did) alledged against me; that they had long known me, some of them thirty years, and had never known me to do an ill thing, but many good offices; and, that, for not being thought to go abroad in defiance to the government, I might and would have done it, two years ago; and, that I was, therefore, willing to wait to go about my affairs, as before, with leave; that I might be the better respected, in the liberty I took to follow it.

"King *William* answered, "That I was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs; and, that I might follow my business as freely as ever; and that he had nothing to say to me."—Upon which they pressed him to command one of them, to declare the same to the Secretary of State, Sir *John Trenchard*, that if I came to him, or otherwise, he might signify the same to me;—which he also did:——The Lords were *Rochester*, *Ranelagh*, and *Sidney*; and the last, as my greatest acquaintance, was to tell the Secretary; accordingly he did; and the Secretary, after speaking himself, and having it from King *William*'s own mouth, appointed me a time to meet him at home; and did, with the *Marquis* of *Winchester*, and

1693. King *William* anſwered, "That *William Penn* was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs;—that he might follow his buſineſs, as freely as ever; and that he had nothing to ſay to him."—Upon which they preſſed him to command one of them to declare the ſame to the Secretary of State, Sir *John Trenchard;* that, if he came to him, or otherwiſe, he might ſignify the ſame to him; which the

King William's anſwer, &c.

and told me, I was as free as ever; and, as he doubted not my prudence about my quiet living, ſo he aſſured me, I ſhould not be moleſted, or injured in any of my affairs, at leaſt while he held that poſt. The Secretary is my old friend, and one I ſerved, after the D. of *Monmouth* and Lord Ruſſel's buſineſs: I carried him in my coach to Windſor, and preſented him to *King James;* and when the revolution came, he bought my four horſes, that carried us. It was about three or four months before the revolution. The lords ſpoke the 25th of November, and he diſcharged me on the 30th.

"From the Secretary I went to our meeting, at the *Bull and Mouth;* thence to viſit the ſanctuary of my ſolitude; and after that, to ſee my poor wife and children; my eldeſt being with me all this while. My wife is yet weakly; but I am not without hopes of her recovery; who is of the beſt of wives and women.

"From all this you may apprehend that I may yet ſee *America,* and ſhall certainly judge things, as I find them: for I have had hard meaſure among you; the province diſgraced, and all our intereſt wounded: though I am tender and merciful, I am juſt; and neither my relations in blood, nor in judgment, I hope, ſhall be able to byas me into a wrong ſenſe, or apprehenſion: and I hope once more to unite you upon a common bottom:—Thus far of my enlargement, which, from a multitude of buſineſs, at this time, I ſend in another hand; I was alſo ſurprized at the ſhort notice given me to write in.——The trial of *George Keith* has been induſtrieuſly ſpread all about the nation, eſpecially at *London,* at the *Court, Weſtminſter Hall,* and the *Parliament Houſe;* the odium, it has contracted in ſome, ſtirred up in others; the advantage, the diſaffected among us make by it, againſt unity, againſt Friends' having power, againſt me and you, in particular, are great and lamentable; the Lord put a holy ſtop, by his wiſe power, to this evil work, and bring that which is ſo wrong, under his righteous judgment.——That you have a regard to my right, I cannot but value; and hope it is that, and not humour, or diſappointment, that engaged you to decline: Oh, the ſorrowful concluſion of eight or nine years' government! but I hope ſoon to ſee an end of all this, if the Lord will; ſo, not willing to loſe this opportunity, and eſpecially upon this occaſion, I ſalute you all in the unchangeable truth of our God, deſiring your preſervation, in that which is more valuable than all the world, to them that love it, and taſte the virtue of it."——"Friends generally well; the war continues; great loſſes; poverty looking men in the face; and ſcarcety of bread alſo coming on apace; but *Ireland* helps, where it is at 2*ſ*3 and half-a-crown the buſhel wheat; this is your harveſt; I deſire my love to Friends and your families; and the Lord preſerve you in his fear; and what you can, make up your breaches; my love ſalutes you, and bids you, heartily, farewell.

"Your real Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

the King readily did; and the Lord *Sidney*, as *William Penn's* greateſt acquaintance, was to tell the Secretary; which being done, the Secretary, after ſpeaking himſelf, and having orders from the King, appointed *William Penn* a time to meet him at home; who then (November 30th.) in company with the *Marquis* of *Wincheſter*, told him, "*He was as free as ever*," adding, "That he doubted not his prudence about his quiet living, ſo he aſſured him, he ſhould not be moleſted, or injured, in any of his affairs, at leaſt, while he held that poſt." 1693.

Death of his wife Gulielma Maria.

Soon after this *William Penn* loſt his beloved wife, *Gulielma Maria*, who died in the Twelfth-month this year; (1693) with whom he had lived, in all the endearments of that neareſt relation, about twenty-one years; her excellent character, and pious exit, are related by himſelf in his printed works.

W. Penn is re-inſtated in his government & Markham appointed his deputy.

He was reinſtated in his government of *Pennſylvania*, by letters patent, dated 20th. day of Auguſt, in the ſixth year of the reign of *William* and *Mary*;* (1694) after which he ſent a commiſſion to

* The copy of a duplicate of the grant, by which *William Penn* was reſtored to the Government of *Pennſylvania*, is as follows, *viz.*

"William and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, defenders of the Faith, &c.

"WHEREAS, upon information, that, by reaſon of great miſcarriages, in the government of our province of *Penſilvania*, in *America*, and the abſence of the Proprietor, the ſame was fallen into diſorder and confuſion; by means whereof not only the public peace, and adminiſtration of juſtice was broken and violated, but there was alſo great want of proviſion for the guard and defence of our ſaid province againſt our enemies; whereby it was apprehended that our ſaid province, and the adjacent colonies were much in danger of being loſt from the crown of *England:* for prevention thereof, as much as in us lay, and for the better defence and ſecurity of our ſubjects, inhabiting theſe parts, during this time of war, we did find it abſolutely neceſſary to take the government thereof into our hands, and under our immediate care and protection, and did, therefore, by letters patent, under our great ſeal of *England*, bearing date the twenty-firſt day of October, in the fourth year of our reign, conſtitute and appoint our truſty and well-beloved *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſquire, our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, of our province of *New York*,

to

1694. to *William Markham*, constituting him his Lieutenant Governor of *Pennsylvania* and territories, dated Ninth-month 24th. 1694.

Now

to be our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, in and over our said province of *Pensilvania*, and country of Newcastle, and all the territories and tracts of land depending thereon, in *America*, with directions to take the said province and country under his government, and did thereby grant unto him, the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, and in case of his death, or absence, out of our provinces of *New York* and *Pensilvania*, our country of *Newcastle*, and our colonies of *East* and *West Jersey*, unto such person, as should be appointed by us to be Commander in Chief of our said province of *New York*, or to our Council of our said province, the like powers and authorities, as were granted by our commission to the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, bearing date, the eighteenth day of March, in the said fourth year of our reign, for the ruling and governing of our said province of *New York*. *And whereas*, humble application has been made unto us, by our trusty and well-beloved *William Penn*, Esquire, Proprietor of our said province of *Pensilvania*, that he may be restored to the administration of the government thereof, as formerly. *And whereas*, the said Proprietor has given us good assurance, that he will take care of the government of our said province and territories, and provide for the safety and security thereof, all that in him lies, We have thereupon thought fit to restore him to the administration of the government of our said province and territories, and accordingly *Our Will and Pleasure is*, That so much of the said commission, bearing date the twenty-first day of October, in the fourth year of our reign, as doth constitute and appoint our trusty and well-beloved *Benjamin Fletcher*, Esquire, to be our Captain General, and Governor in Chief, of our said province of *Pensilvania* and country of *Newcastle*, and the territories and tracts of land depending thereon in *America*, together with all the powers and authorities thereby granted for the ruling and governing of our said province and country, do, from the publication of these our letters patent, cease, determine, and become void, and accordingly the same are hereby declared void; of which all persons, whom it may concern, are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly, under pain of our highest displeasure.

"IN WITNESS whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent, Witness, Ourselves, at *Westminster*, the twentieth day of August, in the sixth year of our reign.

"*By Writ of Privy Seal*,

"PIGOTT."

About the beginning of the year 1696, the late King *James* intending an invasion of *England*; for which great preparations being made in *France*, and a plot being discovered, in *England*, against King *William* it occasioned declarations to be drawn up and signed, in the manner of associations, not only by the two Houses of Parliament, but also by all the corporations in *England*; and the dissenters likewise presenting declarations to the King somewhat similar to these, the *Quakers*, in that nation, to shew their loyalty, &c. published the following declaration thereupon, in print; which here may shew the judgment and behaviour of that people there, on such occasions as are therein expressed, *viz.*

"*The*

Now for ſeveral years ſucceſſively his beneficent ſervices, and uſeful actions, divers ways, in his native country, particularly to his own religious ſociety, are repreſented to have been very conſiderable; in which time he publiſhed divers uſeful treatiſes, on different ſubjects; which may be ſeen in the collection of his writings in print; he was likewiſe a ſolicitor to the government, for the relief of his friends the *Quakers*, in the caſe of oaths. 1694. His ſervices in England, &c.

On the fifth of the Firſt-month 1695-6, he conſummated his ſecond marriage, at *Briſtol*, with *Hannah*, the daughter of *Thomas Callowhill*, and grand daughter of *Dennis Holliſter*, an eminent merchant of W. Penn's ſecond marriage, &c.

" *The Ancient Teſtimony* of the people called *Quakers* renewed, with reſpect to the *King and Government*, and touching the preſent *Aſſociation*.

" WE, the ſaid people, do ſolemnly and ſincerely declare, That it hath been our judgment and principle, from the firſt day we were called to profeſs the light of *Chriſt Jeſus* manifeſted in our conſciences, unto this day, that the ſetting up and putting down kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, for cauſes beſt known to himſelf; and that it is not our work, or buſineſs, to have any hand, or contrivance therein, nor to be buſy-bodies, in matters above our ſtation; much leſs to plot, or contrive the ruin, or overturn, of any of them: But to pray for the king, and for the ſafety of our nation, and good of all men, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſs and honeſty, under the government, which he is pleaſed to ſet over us.

" And, according to this our *ancient and innocent principle*, we have often given forth our teſtimony, and now do, againſt all plotting, conſpiracies, and contriving inſurrections againſt the King, or the government, and againſt all treacherous, barbarous and murderous deſigns whatſoever, as works of the devil and darkneſs; and we ſincerely bleſs God, and are heartily thankful to the king and government, for the liberty and privileges we enjoy under them, by law, eſteeming it our duty to be true and faithful to them.

" *And whereas*, we, the ſaid people, are required to ſign the ſaid aſſociation, we ſincerely declare, that our refuſing ſo to do, is not out of any diſaffection to the King, or Government, nor in oppoſition to his being declared rightful and lawful King of theſe realms, but purely becauſe we cannot, for conſcience' ſake, fight, kill, or revenge, either for ourſelves, or any man elſe.

" And we believe that the timely diſcovery and prevention of the late barbarous deſign and miſchievous plot againſt the King and Government, and the ſad effects it might have had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty God; for which we, and the whole nation, have great cauſe to be humbly thankful to him, and to pray for the continuance of his mercies to them and us.

" From a meeting of the ſaid people, in *London*, the 23d. of the Firſt-month, called March, 1695-6."

1696. of that city. She was ſaid to be a religious young woman, of excellent qualities; with whom he lived during the reſt of his life; and had iſſue by her, four ſons and one daughter.

Death of his *eldeſt* ſon Springett. In the Second-month, 1696, his eldeſt ſon, by his former wife, named *Springett*, died at *Worminghurſt*, in Suſſex, of a conſumption, in the twenty-firſt year of his age; a moſt hopeful and promiſing young man; whoſe character may be ſeen in his father's writings, together with that of his mother, before mentioned.

W. Penn viſits Ireland, &c. After this *William Penn* paid a religious viſit to his friends, the *Quakers*, in *Ireland*, accompanied by *John Everott* and *Thomas Story;* who were likewiſe two eminent preachers in that ſociety; and he writ ſeveral treatiſes in vindication of his religious principles, &c. till the year 1699, when he began to make preparation to reviſit his province of *Pennſylvania*.

Proceedings of Gov. Markham and the Aſſembly. *William Markham*, being by the Proprietary, after his reſtoration, conſtituted, or appointed, his Deputy Governor, as before obſerved, firſt, under that appointment, met a Council on the 20th. of April, and an Aſſembly, on the 10th. of September, 1695; which, after they had ſat ſome time, appear to have been unexpectedly diſſolved by

The Names of the Members of Aſſembly, in 1695, were:—

For Philadelphia.	*For Bucks.*	*For Cheſter.*
Edward Shippen, *Speaker*,	Joſhua Hoopes,	John Blunſton,
Alexander Beardſley,	Henry Paxon,	Bartholo. Coppock,
James Fox,	Samuel Dark,	William Jenkins,
Robert Owen,	Nicholas Waln,	Robert Piles,
John Bevan,	John Swift,	Walter Forreſt,
John Parſons.	Joſeph Miller.	Philip Roman.
For New Caſtle.	*For Kent.*	*For Suſſex.*
Joſeph England,	John Betts,	John Stockley,
Valentine Hollingſworth,	William Rodney,	Thomas Oldman,
George Harland,	William Morton,	Joſeph Booth,
Edward Gibbs,	Simon Irons,	Henry Moleſton,
Henry Hollingſworth,	Daniel Brown,	James Peterkill,
Cornelius Empſon.	John Hilliard.	Jonathan Bailey.

by *Markham*. The form of the writ, for calling that Aſſembly, was as follows, *viz.* 1695.

(L. S.) "*William Markham*, Eſquire, Governor under *William Penn*, abſolute Proprietary of the province of *Pennſylvania* and counties annexed, to *Arthur Meſton*, Sheriff of the county of *Kent*, Greeting:

Governor's writ for calling the Aſſembly.

"WHEREAS, their ſacred Majeſties, *William* and *Mary*, by the grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, defenders of the faith, &c. did, by their letters patent, under the great ſeal of *England*, bearing date the one and twentieth day of October, in the fourth year of their reign, for the reaſons therein expreſſed, find it abſolutely neceſſary to take the government of ſaid province of *Pennſylvania* into their own hands, and under their immediate care and protection; and, therefore, did conſtitute and appoint *Benjamin Fletcher*, Eſquire, Captain General, and Governor in Chief of their Majeſties' province of *New-York*, to be Captain General, in and over their ſaid Majeſties' province of *Pennſylvania*, and country of *New-Caſtle*, and all the tracts of land depending thereon in America, thereby commanding and requiring him, the ſaid *Benjamin Fletcher*, to take the ſaid province of *Pennſylvania* and country under his government; who accordingly took the ſame under his government, by publication of the ſaid letters patent, in the town of *Philadelphia*, upon the 26th. of April, 1693: And whereas, their ſacred Majeſties have ſince been moſt graciouſly pleaſed, by their letters patent, under the great ſeal of *England*, bearing date the 20th. day of Auguſt, in the ſixth year of their reign, for the reaſons therein expreſſed, to reſtore to the ſaid *William Penn*, Proprietary of the ſaid province of *Pennſylvania* and territories, unto the adminiſtration of the government thereof:

And,

1695. And whereas, the ſaid *William Penn* has been pleaſed, by his commiſſion, under his hand, and ſeal of the ſaid province, bearing date the 29th. day of the Ninth-month, 1694, to conſtitute me Governor, under him, of the ſaid province of *Pennſylvania*, and counties annexed, ſtrictly charging and commanding me, to govern according to the known laws and uſages thereof. I, therefore, by virtue of the ſaid power and authority, derived unto me, command you, that forthwith you ſummon all the Freemen of your ſaid county, to meet upon the tenth day of April, at the uſual place of meeting, then and there, according to law and charter, to chuſe three perſons, to ſerve in Provincial Council, one for three years, one for two years, and one other for one year; and ſix perſons to ſerve as members of Aſſembly; and upon the election of members of Council, to acquaint them to attend me on the 20th. day of April next, at *Philadelphia*, to form a Provincial Council, to adviſe with me, in matters relating to the government; whereof they are not to fail; and make return of the names of the ſaid Freemen, ſo to be choſen, and of this writ, into the Secretary's office, for the ſaid province and territories, at and before the ſaid 20th. day of April next;—hereof fail not at your peril; and for your ſo doing this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant.

Markham's writ, &c.

"*Given under my hand, and ſeal of the province, this 26th. day of March, annoque regni regis et reginæ, Gulielmi et Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. ſeptimo, in the fourteenth year of the Proprietary's government, annoque Domini* 1695.

"WILLIAM MARKHAM."

1696. After this he called another Aſſembly, to meet at *Philadelphia*, on the 26th. of the Eighth-month, 1696. This Aſſembly choſe *John Simcock* of *Cheſter*, for their Speaker; and, in a meſſage to the Governor,

Proceedings of the Aſſembly.

vernor, they obſerved, that though he had convened them, by his writs, not ſo conformable to their charter, as they could deſire, (which was upon *Fletcher's* plan) yet they had obeyed the ſame, and conſidered what he had laid before them, *viz.* "To anſwer the late Queen's letter, and the Proprietary's promiſe upon his reſtoration to the government;" reſpecting which they told him, "That they were unanimouſly ready and willing to perform their duty therein, ſo far as in them lay, if the Governor would ſettle them in their former conſtitution, enjoyed before the government was committed to Governor Fletcher's truſt;" which affairs, with the proceedings of the laſt Aſſembly, appear more fully in the following remonſtrance, *viz.* 1696. Proceedings of the Aſſembly.

"To *William Markham*, Governor under *William Penn*, Proprietor of the province of *Pennſylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging,

"The remonſtrance of the Freemen of the ſaid province and territories, convened in Aſſembly, by virtue of the Governor's writs, at *Philadelphia*, the 28th. of October, in the eighth year of King *William's* reign, over *England*, &c. annoque Domini 1696.

"Humbly ſheweth,

"THAT, whereas, the late King *Charles* the ſecond, by his royal charter, made in the thirty-third year of his reign, under the great ſeal of *England*, was pleaſed to ſignify, that *William Penn*, (out of a commendable deſire to enlarge the *Britiſh empire*, and promote ſuch uſeful commodities as might be of benefit to the King and his dominions, as alſo to induce the ſavage nations, by gentle and juſt manners, to the love of civil ſociety, and the *Chriſtian* religion) had humbly ſought leave to tranſport an ample colony into this country; The Aſſembly's remonſtrance to Governor Markham.

1696. try; wherefore, the ſaid King, favouring the petition, and good purpoſe of the ſaid *William Penn*, did, in and by the ſaid charter, for him, his heirs and ſucceſſors, give and grant unto the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and aſſigns, all this ſaid country, and tract of land, called *Pennſylvania*, and conſtituted him, the ſaid *William Penn*, abſolute Proprietor thereof, veſting him, and ſuch as were to be adventurers with him, the ſettlers and inhabitants of ſaid province, with divers powers, privileges and immunities, under the reſervations, proviſos and reſtrictions, in the ſaid charter ſpecified; charging all officers, &c. to be, at all times aiding and aſſiſting to the ſaid *William Penn*, and unto the ſaid inhabitants and merchants of the ſaid province, in the full uſe and fruition of the benefits of the ſaid charter.

The Aſſembly's remonſtrance.

"In purſuance whereof the ſaid *William Penn*, and divers ſubſtantial perſons, who firſt embarked with him, in that ſo commendable a deſign, did ſoon afterwards (by the advice of learned council) conclude upon a certain frame of government, conſiſtent with the powers of the ſaid patent, but ſuitable with the *religious perſwaſion* of the major part of the undertakers, and well accommodated to all. This model, together with the franchiſes and immunities expreſsly granted by the aforeſaid letters patent to the people, did induce them to conceive (and, we hope, upon juſt grounds too) that ſince the King had been ſo favourably pleaſed to incorporate them, and in ſo great a meaſure, connected the people's privileges with their properties, that they could not be any more diveſted of the one, than the other, but by due courſe of law, and proved more than ordinary motives to incline ſeveral hundreds to tranſport themſelves and families into this country, out of divers parts; ſo that this province hath not been, at firſt, populated under *William Penn's* government, with *tranſported*

ſported felons, or *criminals*, but moſtly, *the people called Quakers*, men of *truth* and *ſobriety*, having viſible eſtates and credit in the world; who, with no leſs deſires of that freedom, to anſwer the end of the King's grant, (with reſpect to propagating the Chriſtian religion) were made willing to leave their native land, part with their friends and near relations, and remove themſelves into the wilderneſs, hoping to enjoy their ſaid privileges and liberties, more than any proſpect, they had of worldly advantage, or preferment; and when they arrived here, expoſed themſelves and tender families to great hardſhips, (attending the hazard and inconveniencies of a new plantation) exhauſted their eſtates, *and have not been at all chargeable to the crown*, in ſo conſiderable a ſettlement, as is well known; but before they could thoroughly come into a comfortable way of living and put themſelves into a capacity to pay either their particular, or public debts, this government became (it ſeems) as the butt of our neighbour's envy; who, miſrepreſenting things at home, did obtain a commiſſion from the King and Queen, conſtituting Colonel *Fletcher*, Commander in Chief over this province and territories; who, during his governancy, diverted the courſe of our legiſlative procedure, and introduced another method; and continued the ſame, until the ſaid King and Queen were favourably pleaſed, by their letters patent, to reſtore the ſaid Proprietary to the adminiſtration of the government of this province and territories; upon which reſtoration, the power and authority, which Colonel *Fletcher* had made uſe of, to lay aſide our charteral rights and privileges, were, by the ſaid patent, determined, and made void. 1696. The Aſſembly's remonſtrance.

"Wherefore, the Proprietary thought fit to authorize thee, to act according to the known laws and uſages of this government: In purſuance whereof thou waſt pleaſed to iſſue forth thy writs, directed

1696. directed to the reſpective Sheriffs of this province and territories, commanding them to ſummon all the Freemen of the reſpective counties to meet upon the tenth day of the month called April, 1695, in the uſual place of meeting, then and there, according to law and charter, to chuſe three perſons, in each county, to ſerve in Provincial Council, one for three years, one for two years, and the other for one year; and ſix perſons out of each county, to ſerve as Members of Aſſembly. In obedience to which writs elections were made, and a General Aſſembly began to be held here, on the tenth day of September, 1695:—And, truly, thoſe of us, that attended that ſervice, were glad, when thou ſo frequently expreſſed thy readineſs to confirm our rights and privileges, adding, That thou wouldeſt not ſo much as endeavour to diminiſh them; which gave further encouragement to the then Repreſentatives; who, with much alacrity, and dutiful acknowledgments of the King's juſtice and favour, in reſtoring the ſaid Proprietary to his rights, did proceed to manifeſt their affections to the King, as well as their readineſs to anſwer his expectations, about ſupporting this government, ſo far as, in conſcience, they could, according to their ability, and circumſtances of affairs; and ſo agreed to make an aſſeſſment of money, upon all eſtates within this province and country, for the ſupport of government; which, together with the £250 Sterling, thentofore raiſed, and made payable to Colonel Fletcher, toward the ſupport of this government, and not expreſsly appointed for any other particular uſe, they, the ſaid Repreſentatives, humbly deſired might be deemed and taken, inſtead of the aſſiſtance required from this country; the ſame being in anſwer to the late Queen's letter, ſo far as, in conſcience and abilities, they could comply therewith; and ſo perfected the bill, ready for thy paſſing; having joined therewith only one bill, modelled with thy approbation, and corrected according

The Aſſembly's remonſtrance.

cording to thy own direction, containing ſome fundamental liberties, which we look upon to be as much the people's rights, as the land they hold. 1696.

The Aſſembly's remonſtrance.

"But, inſtead of giving thy ſanction to thoſe bills, thou haſt, contrary to the tenor of ſaid writs, and againſt our legiſlative rights and privileges, undertaken to diſſolve both Council and Aſſembly; which, we underſtand, was ſo ſurprizing and unexpected to the ſaid Repreſentatives, that they had neither time to explain their real intentions, in what they urged and inſiſted on, or opportunity to ſee the minutes of their journal perfected; whereby their proceedings might have been more fully and fairly rendered.

"And we are given to underſtand, and thoſe of us that were concerned in that diſſolved Aſſembly, do declare, That where any thing has been there voted, about proceeding in legiſlation, without the formality of promulgating bills, according to charter, it was chiefly to expedite the paſſing of the Money-bill, to anſwer the late Queen's letter, in manner aforeſaid, and not intended to be brought into example, unleſs agreed on, to be inſerted in the other bill, or *New act of ſettlement*. And we alſo underſtand, that where mention was then made of any difficulty, or inconvenience, in reſuming the charter, it was but in circumſtantials, and had reſpect only to the time of meeting, number of members, and ſuch like, not that we then did, or do now, think that the people had any way forfeited, or loſt, the benefit and privileges in thoſe branches thereof, which direct, that this government, according to the powers of the King's patent, and the late Duke of *York*'s deeds of *feoffment*, ſhould conſiſt of the Proprietary, Governor and Freemen of the ſaid province and territories, and in form of a Provincial Council and Aſſembly, choſen by the people; and that the Governor, or his Deputy, ſhould perform no act of ſtate, that relates to the juſtice,

1696. juſtice, trade, treaſury, or ſafety of the province and territories, but by the advice of the ſaid Provincial Council; and ſuch other fundamental parts of the ſaid charter, wherewith we are inveſted by virtue of the King's letters patent, for reſtoring the Proprietary.

The Aſſembly's remonſtrance.

"Now, for as much as thou haſt refuſed to paſs the ſaid bill, or *New Act of Settlement*, and not inclined to the advice of thy aſſiſtant, in iſſuing forth writs, for chuſing Members of Council and Aſſembly, on the laſt charteral day of election, but uſed thy endeavours to diſcourage the people then to elect, and haſt now convened us, contrary to our former uſage, notwithſtanding we ſtill hold ourſelves concerned to embrace this opportunity, as we are, and ſhall be, ready, upon all occaſions, to expreſs our duty and affection to the King, for his juſtice and favours to the government, and our well-wiſhes to thyſelf, we deſire thee to take ſome ſpeedy courſe to eſtabliſh us in our juſt rights and privileges, whereby we may be in a fit poſture effectually to anſwer and obſerve the King's command, relating to this government, and the Proprietary's engagements, in that behalf, ſo far as our religious perſwaſions can admit.

"*Signed by order of the Houſe,*

"JOHN SIMCOCKE, *Speaker.*"

Proceedings of the Governor & Aſſembly.

It does not appear what particular anſwer the Governor gave to this remonſtrance; but that the Speaker, with the houſe, waited upon him, at his deſire; to whom he delivered a letter, from the late Governor *Fletcher*, requeſting money, for the relief of the *Indians* at *Albany*. Upon which, on the 31ſt. of the Eighth-month, 1696, a committee of the houſe, being joined by a committee of the Council, in order to anſwer the Queen's letter, and preſerve the people's privileges, agreed in recommending the following expedient, *viz.*

"That

"That the Governor, at the requeſt of the Aſſembly, would be pleaſed to paſs an act, (of ſettlement, muſt be underſtood) with a ſalvo to the Proprietary and people; and that he would alſo iſſue out his writs, for chuſing a full number of repreſentatives, on the 10th. day of the Firſt-month next, to ſerve in Provincial Council and Aſſembly, according to the charter, until the Proprietary's pleaſure be known therein; and that, if the Proprietary ſhall diſapprove the ſame, then this act ſhall be void, and no ways prejudicial to him, nor the people, in relation to the validity, or invalidity, of the ſaid charter."—This was unanimouſly approved by the Aſſembly. A bill of ſettlement, and a money bill were thereupon agreed upon, prepared and paſſed. 1696.

The money bill was for raiſing three hundred pounds, for the ſupport of government, and relieving the diſtreſſed *Indians*, inhabiting above *Albany*, in anſwer to the Queen's letter; which money, being immediately wanted, was, therefore, borrowed, until it could be raiſed by the act, and remitted to Colonel *Fletcher*, at *New-York*, to be applied to the uſe intended.

The bill of ſettlement being finiſhed, beſides four others, paſſed by *Markham*, it thence became the third frame of government; and, being afterwards enforced by ſome other laws, it continued in force till the year 1701.* The third frame of government.

In year 1697, Governor *Fletcher* of *New-York*, in a letter to *Markham*, informed him, that the three hundred pounds, ſent laſt year, was expended in contingences, to feed and cloath the *Indians*, as was deſired; and that he requeſted further aſſiſtance. A committee of the Council and Aſſembly, 1697. Fletcher ſolicits further aid for the Indians.

* By this charter, or frame of government, the council was to conſiſt of only two members out of each county, and the Aſſembly of four: making in all twelve members of council, and twenty-four of the Aſſembly, &c. See the appendix, No. 4.

1697. bly, to whom the affair was referred, in their report, in anſwer to this letter, expreſſed their acknowledgments for his, and that government's regard and candour to them, in applying that money to the uſe intended;—but, as to further ſupply, at preſent, they urged the infancy, poverty, and incumbered ſtate of the colony, in excuſe for non-compliance;—at the ſame time, declaring their readineſs to obſerve the King's further commands, according to their religious perſwaſions and abilities."

1698. From about this time, till the arrival of the Proprietary, in the latter part of the year 1699, the accounts of the public affairs appear defective, or not many of much importance now occur. The province ſeems, at that time, to have enjoyed a ſtate of great tranquillity and proſperity, when compared with that of other countries; but, it cannot be ſuppoſed, without ſome of thoſe difficulties, which always attend the ſettlement of new colonies, and generally affect ſome more than others, of thoſe concerned, and, in proportion, cauſe uneaſineſſes among them; from which it would be unreaſonable, even, to expect an entire exemption, in the ſtate of human affairs: And, as proſperity and ſucceſs create envy, in malignant minds,

Accounts at this time defective.

In a committee of Council, in 1697, appear the following names, *viz.*

Samuel Carpenter,	William Clarke,
Richard Halwell,	Caleb Puſey,
Phineas Pemberton,	John Curtis.

In 1698, the Names of the Members of Aſſembly were:

For Philadelphia.	*For Bucks.*	*For Cheſter.*
Anthony Morris,	Phi. Pemberton, *Speaker.*	Caleb Puſey,
James Fox,	Robert Heaton,	Samuel Levis,
Samuel Richardſon,	Joſeph Kirkbride,	Nathaniel Newlin,
Andrew Bankſon.	Henry Baker.	Robert Carter.
For New Caſtle.	*For Kent.*	*For Suſſex.*
Adam Peterſon,	Richard Wilſon,	Thomas Oldman,
Edward Gibbs,	Robert Edmonds,	Jonathan Bailey,
John Grubb,	Henry Moleſton,	Luke Watſon, junior,
Joſeph England.	William Moreton.	Cornelius Willbank.

minds, ſo we find, in this province, that whatever was a little amiſs, at any time, it was generally exaggerated, and its true ſtate miſrepreſented, either by thoſe who were natural enemies to its proſperity, or by diſcontented ſpirits, within it, both in early time and ſince: This appears, at leaſt, in part, to have been the cauſe of depriving the Proprietary of his government, in 1692; and of ſome part, of the royal requiſitions, from ſuch an infant, incumbered, and particularly circumſtanced colony, both in early and later times. 1698.

This colony had enemies after the revolution.

But however wicked people may endeavour to cover themſelves, by mixing among thoſe of reputation, and the diſhoneſt ſcreen their character, by aſſociating with the honeſt, yet ſomething of this malignity of mind in ſome perſons out of the province, beſides what might, in reality, have been out of order in it, ſeems, at leaſt, in part, to have adminiſtered occaſion, for the following proclamation, with ſome others of the ſame nature, which were publiſhed in the year, 1698.

"By the Governor and Council of the province of *Pennſylvania*, and counties annexed.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS, our Proprietary hath lately given us to underſtand of ſundry accuſations, or complaints, againſt this government, for conniving at *illegal trade* and *harbouring of pirates;* as alſo of the reports, that are gone to *England*, about the *growth of vice* and *looſeneſs* here.

A Proclamation of the Governor & Council.

"As to the former, it is evident, that they are the effects of the envy and emulation of thoſe, who, by ſuch unfair and indirect means, would accompliſh their deſigns againſt this government: For that we are ſatisfied the generality of the people, merchants and traders of this province and territories, are innocent and clear of thoſe imputations.

1698. tations. And this country ſo poſited, *Philadelphia* is become the road, where ſailors and others do frequently paſs and repaſs between *Virginia* and *New England*, ſo that it cannot be avoided, but the bad, as well as the good, will be entertained, in ſuch an intercourſe; and ſince common charity obliges us not to preſume any perſons guilty (eſpecially of ſuch great enormities) till by ſome legal probability, they appear ſo to be; and though we find that the Magiſtrates and people, in general, are, and have been, ready and, perhaps, more active and conſcientious to ſerve the King and his officers, againſt all unlawful trade and piracy, when any ſuch offences have, by any means, come to their knowledge, than any of thoſe neighbouring colonies, who have been ſo querimonious againſt us, in that behalf; yet, we can do no leſs than, purſuant to our Proprietary's commands, put all in mind of their reſpective duties; that there be no juſt cauſe for ſuch complaints.

A Proclamation.

"And, as concerning vice, we alſo find, that the Magiſtrates have been careful and diligent to ſuppreſs it; but their endeavours have been ſometimes ineffectual therein; by reaſon, that the ordinaries, or drinking houſes, eſpecially in *Philadelphia*, grow too numerous, and the keepers thereof diſorderly, and regardleſs of the tenor and obligations of their licenſes, whereby they prove ungrateful to the Governor, and a reproach to the government.

"*Therefore*, theſe are ſtrictly to charge and command all Magiſtrates and officers whatſoever, within the province and territories, as they regard the honour of God, and their allegiance to the King, faithfully to put in execution all the acts, or laws of trade and navigation, and alſo the laws and ſtatutes extant againſt piracy, whenever there is any ſuch occaſion; and to uſe their utmoſt diligence and care in preventing, ſuppreſſing and puniſhing

punishing all vice, disorders and loose living, wheresoever, and in whomsoever it shall appear. And to that end, it is, by the Governor and Council, ordained, that, from and after the first day of March next ensuing, the Justices of the Peace of each county, in the province and territories, at their respective general, or private sessions, nominate and pitch upon such and so many *ordinary keepers*, or *innholders*, within the respective counties, as they shall be well assured will keep orders, and discourage vice: And the Governor is pleased to condescend that he will license those so approved of by the Justices, and will permit no other, to keep taverns, inns, or drinking houses, within this government, than such as shall be so recommended, from time to time. 1698. A Proclamation.

"And we further strictly charge and command all persons, within this government, as they will answer the contrary at their peril, that they give due assistance to the Magistrates and officers aforesaid, in putting the said laws in execution, and suppressing vice, that the wrath of God, and the King's displeasure may not be drawn upon this poor country.

"Dated at *Philadelphia*, the twelfth day of the Twelfth-month, February, being the ninth year of the reign of *William* the Third, of *England*, &c. King, anno. Domini 1697-8.

"*Signed by order of the Governor and Council,*

"*Per* PATRICK ROBINSON."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XIV.

William Penn, with his wife and family, ſail for Pennſylvania.—Extract from his valedictory epiſtle to his Friends in Europe.—Yellow Fever in Pennſylvania.—Thomas Story, Arthur Cooke and Thomas Fitzwater.—Proceedings of the Governor and Aſſembly againſt piracy and illicit trade.—The Proprietary's concern for the benefit of the Indians and Negroes, with the meaſures uſed.—He meets Aſſemblies both at Philadelphia and Newcaſtle, &c. and prepares a new charter.—Order of Council, for a watch on the ſea-coaſt, &c.—Money requeſted of the Aſſembly for the fortifications on the frontiers of New York.—Aſſembly's Addreſs to the Proprietary on this occaſion.—Obſervation on the nature of this requiſition, &c.—Articles of Agreement between William Penn and the Indians about Suſquehanna, &c.—Means provided for the benefit of the Indians.

1699. W. Penn ſails for Pennſylvania.

IN the Sixth-month of the year 1699, *William Penn*, with his wife and family, took ſhipping for *Pennſylvania;* and, on the third day of the next following month, from on board the ſhip, lying in *Cowes'* road, near the Iſle of *Weight*, he took his farewell of his Friends, in a valedictory epiſtle, directed to all the people called *Quakers*, in *Europe*.*

He

* This epiſtle conſiſts chiefly of religious admonition, and may be ſeen in his printed works:—The following concluding expreſſions ſhew the nature and ſpirit of it, *viz.*

——"And now, to the whole family and flock of God, in this *European* part of the world, of the ſame communion, according to the diſpenſation

He ſailed on the ninth of the ſame month; and was near three months out at ſea; ſo that he did not arrive in *Pennſylvania* until the beginning of the Tenth-month: when a dangerous and contagious diſtemper, called the *Yellow Fever*, having raged in the province, and carried off great numbers of people, had ceaſed. This remarkable ſickneſs, which, in the latter part of this year, had cauſed a great mortality in *Philadelphia*, had, for ſome time before, been very fatal in ſome parts of the *Weſt India* iſlands. 1699.

Yellow Fever in Philadelphia.

Thomas Story, before mentioned to have accompanied *William Penn* to *Ireland*, in the laſt year, 1698, a man of note and good abilities, and afterwards of much utility, in divers reſpects, to the province, firſt arrived in *Pennſylvania*, in, or about, this ſame year, 1699, by way of *Virginia*, on a religious viſit to the colonies, in the ſervice of preaching the goſpel.* In his Journal of his Life, ſpeaking

Tho. Story arrives in Pennſylvania.

penſation of God, be they high or low, young or old, rich or poor, wiſe or ſimple, ſtrong or weak, male or female, bond or free, I ſend this parting ſalutation of my moſt *dear love*, in the *truth*; beſeeching you all to have me and mine in rememberance, not only, when upon the *mighty waters*, but when in the *ſolitary deſarts of America*, if it pleaſe the Lord to bring us ſafe thither; for I am not above the love and prayers of my *dear brethren*, knowing I need them, and have often found, by good experience, that they avail much with the Lord.

"I muſt leave you, but I can never forget you; for my love to you has been, as *David's* and *Jonathan's*, above the love of women; and ſuffer me to ſay, that, to my power, I have, from the firſt, endeavoured to ſerve you, *(and my poor country too, and that at my own charge)* with an upright mind, however miſunderſtood and treated by ſome, whom I heartily forgive.

"Accept you my ſervices, and ever love and remember, my dear friends and brethren, your old, true and affectionate friend, brother and ſervant, in Chriſt Jeſus,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"*Cowes, Iſle of Weight, weighing anchor, the 3d. of the Seventh-month*, 1699."

* *Thomas Story* was born in *Cumberland*, in the north of *England*; he had a good education and was brought up to the law. After he came to man's eſtate, and maturity of judgment, he joined with the *Quakers*, and became an eminent preacher in their ſociety. He was an intimate Friend of *William Penn*; and, ſoon after his arrival in the Province, was elected one of the council. He was appointed the firſt Recorder of the city of *Philadelphia*, by charter, in 1701. In the year 1706, having married

1699. ing of this ſickneſs, at *Philadelphia*, where he was then preſent, he ſays:—"Great was the Majeſty and Hand of the Lord, great was the fear, that fell upon all fleſh; I ſaw no lofty, or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jeſting, to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee, to raiſe mirth; nor extravagant feaſting, to excite the luſts and deſires of the fleſh above meaſure; but every face gathered paleneſs, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and ſunk, as ſuch that waited, every moment, to be ſummoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave."

His account of the effect of this ſickneſs in Philadelphia.

The

married *Ann*, the daughter of *Edward Shippen*, and ſettled in the city, he continued to be of good and great ſervice to the country, for a number of years, both in a religious and civil capacity, diſcharging the different and important offices, which he held, with great honor, ſkill and integrity, till about the year 1714; when, after his wife's deceaſe, he returned, by way of *Barbadoes*, to *England*; where he continued the remainder of his life, and died at *Carliſle*, in the year 1742, aged about eighty years.

The following character of him was publiſhed in *England*, about the time of his deceaſe, *viz.*

"*London*, *June* 21*ſt*. 1742.

"Monday laſt, died of a paralytic diſorder Mr. *Thomas Story*, an eminent preacher among the *Quakers:* a man juſtly eſteemed and loved, not only by that ſociety, but by many others, not of the meaneſt rank, who had the pleaſure of his acquaintance. He was truly a great and good man; whoſe principles led him to the performance of every moral and Chriſtian duty; and whoſe life and doctrine concurred, in rendering him a fit example for goſpel miniſters, in wiſdom, piety and humility. He had, without any profeſſed application to the ſciences, acquired a general knowledge in natural philoſophy, and moſt branches of the mathematics; and had the moſt refined and extenſive ideas in the metaphyſics: but the inward and eternal happineſs of mankind was his favorite ſtudy. He was a complete gentleman, generous in his ſentiments, affable in his behaviour, free and communicative to people in all ſtations and circumſtances. His time was chiefly devoted to the ſervice of God, in diſcharging that public concern of preaching the goſpel; which he eſteemed his indiſpenſable duty. Of the good effect of whoſe extraordinary qualification and faithful labors there are many living witneſſes. In ſhort, if temperance, patience, forgiving injuries, humility, faith and charity, are characteriſtics of a good man, and a miniſter of *Chriſt*, he was one."

On the ſecond day of the Eighth-month, 1699, died *Arthur Cooke*, a worthy magiſtrate of *Philadelphia*. He was one of the people called *Quakers;* and came from *London*, among the firſt, or more early ſettlers of the province. He had ſerved in divers of the moſt conſiderable poſts, in the government, with a good character.

In the ſame month, died *Thomas Fitzwater*, a valuable member of ſociety, and a preacher among the *Quakers*.

The Proprietary and his family were received with the univerſal joy of the inhabitants, in general; which was the greater, on account of his known intention to fix his reſidence among them, during the remainder of his life. 1699.

The Proprietor received with great joy.

Soon after his arrival he met the Aſſembly; but it being then a very rigorous ſeaſon, in the winter, much public buſineſs does not appear to have been tranſacted, at that time, beſides attempting to diſcourage piracy and illicit trade; for which principally, at that time, the Proprietary ſeems to have convened them. He ſtrongly repreſented the odium, to which he ſaid this government was expoſed at home, on this account; and the obligations, which he was under, to his ſuperiors, to correct the ſame: Hence two laws were paſſed, for theſe purpoſes, and meaſures taken to clear the government from all unjuſt imputations of this nature.*

The Proprietor *meets* the Aſſembly, &c.

Piracy and illicit trade diſcouraged

In the Firſt-month of the year 1700, *William Penn*, at the monthly-meeting of his Friends, the *Quakers*, in *Philadelphia*, laid before them his concern, in which, he ſaid, his mind had long been engaged, for the benefit and welfare of the *Negroes* and *Indians;* exhorting and preſſing them to the full diſcharge of their duty, every way, in reference to theſe people; but more eſpecially in regard to their mental part; that they might as frequently as poſſible have the advantage of attending religious meetings, and the benefit of being duly informed in the true Chriſtian religion. Hence a meeting was appointed more particularly for the *Negroes* once every month; and means were uſed to have more frequent meetings with the Indians; *Willliam Penn* taking part of the charge upon himſelf, particularly, the manner of it, and the procuring of interpreters. 1700.

W. Penn's concern for the *Indians* and *Negroes*

* In the votes of Aſſembly, at this time, there appears to have been one perſon, named *James Brown*, a member of the Houſe, and ſon-in-law of *William Markham*, accuſed or ſuſpected of piracy:—In conſequence of which he was expelled the Houſe;—But I find no proof of what was alledged againſt him on that account.

1700. The next Aſſembly was convened at *Philadelphia*, on the 10th. day of the Third-month; which was diſſolved in the next month following, and another convened at *Newcaſtle*, in October. The upper counties, or the province, being diſſatisfied with the charter, which had been paſſed by *Markham*, in 1696, part of the buſineſs of theſe Aſſemblies was the conſideration and preparation of a new one, better adapted to their minds and circumſtances.

An Aſſembly held at Philadelphia, and another at Newcaſtle.

Preparation of the new charter

The Proprietary had divers meetings with the different Aſſemblies, during his reſidence in the province; wherein a great variety of public buſineſs was tranſacted with much harmony, and general ſatisfaction: Part of which was the framing a body of laws, with the aforeſaid new and laſt charter of privileges; the latter of which was not finiſhed till the month of October, in the next following year.*

In

* The number of laws, paſſed by the Proprietary, during his ſtay, this time, in the country, was *one hundred;* of which the major part were paſſed at *New-Caſtle.*

N. B. In the ſpring of the year 1701, the ſea coaſt, &c. appears to have been ſo infeſted by pirates, as well as the dangers conſequent on a French war, that the Governor and Council iſſued the following order, for the prevention of any ſurprize, &c. in that reſpect, *viz.*

" At a Council held in *Philadelphia* the 2d. of the Fourth-month, 1701.

" Preſent:
" The Proprietor and Governor.

" Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen,
" Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Puſey."
" Thomas Story,

" FOR the greater ſecurity of this province and territories, and for preventing, as far as may be, ſurprizes by veſſels from ſea.

" Ordered, That the Magiſtrates, for the county of *Suſſex*, ſhall appoint, and take care that a conſtant watch and ward be kept, on the hithermoſt *Cape*, near *Lewis*, in the ſaid county: and in caſe any veſſel appear from the ſea, that may with good grounds, be ſuſpected of evil deſigns againſt any part of the government;

" Ordered, That the ſaid watch ſhall forthwith give notice thereof, with as exact a deſcription and account of the veſſel, as poſſibly they can, to the Sheriff of the ſaid county; who is required immediately to diſpatch a meſſenger, expreſs, with the ſame to the county of *Kent;* from thence to be forwarded from Sheriff to Sheriff, through every county

In the beginning of the Sixth-month, 1701, the Proprietary acquainted the Assembly, "That the occasion of his calling them, at that time (though it was with reluctance, considering the season) was, to lay before them the King's letter, requiring *three hundred and fifty pounds sterling*, from this government, towards the fortifications, intended on the frontiers of *New-York*; and though he might have something else to lay before them, yet he deferred all, till they had considered this point."—

1701.

The Proprietor lays the King's *letter* before the Assembly.

After considering and debating on the subject of this letter, the Assembly excused themselves, at present, from complying with the said requisition, by the following address to the Proprietary, *viz.*

"To *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania.

"The humble address of the Assembly.

"*May it please our Proprietary and Governor*,

"WE, the Freemen of the province and territories, in Assembly met, having perused the King's letter, requiring a contribution of *three hundred and fifty pounds sterling*, towards erecting of forts, on the frontiers of *New-York*, *&c.* and having duly weighed and considered our duty and loyalty to our sovereign, do humbly address and represent, that, by the reason of the infancy of this colony, and the great charge and cost, the inhabitants have

The Assembly's *address* to the Proprietor on the *occasion*.

county, till it be brought to the Government, at *Philadelphia*; which watch and expresses shall be a provincial charge."

"Signed by order,

"JAMES LOGAN, *Secretary*."

Note:—"In the First-month 6th. 1701, Ordered, That there shall be no slaughter-house suffered in, or about, the town of *Philadelphia*, but over the river *Delaware*, where the tide may carry off all the garbage, gore, &c. (the places to be appointed by the Magistrates) under penalty of forfeiting their meat."

Journals of the Council of Pennsylvania.

1701. have hitherto been at, in the ſettlement thereof, and becauſe of the late great ſums of money, which have been aſſeſſed on the province and territories, by way of impoſt and taxes, beſides the arrears of quit-rents, owing by the people, our preſent capacity will hardly admit of levying of money, at this time. And further, taking into conſideration, that the adjacent provinces have hitherto (as far as we can underſtand) done nothing in this matter; we are, therefore, humbly of opinion, and accordingly move, that the further conſideration of the King's letter may be referred to another meeting of Aſſembly, or until more emergent occaſions ſhall require our further proceedings therein: In the meantime we earneſtly deſire the Proprietary would candidly repreſent our conditions to the King, and aſſure him of our readineſs (according to our abilities) to acquieſce with, and anſwer, his commands, ſo far as our religious perſwaſions ſhall permit, as becomes loyal and faithful ſubjects ſo to do."

The Aſſembly's *addreſs*

Though the Aſſembly, in this caſe, appeared not unwilling to contribute to the common defence, if the circumſtances of the colony would have permitted; and the Proprietary himſelf particularly further urged a compliance, in this matter, in his ſpeech to the next following Aſſembly; yet the nature of this letter and requiſition, to ſuch a young and infant colony, conſidering the principles, upon which it was primarily planted and founded, ſeems to indicate, that it was not without enemies, at Court: for the pacific principles and motives, or views, of *William Penn*, and of the firſt and early adventurers, in general, under him, in their ſettling this wilderneſs, 'tis preſumed, could not poſſibly be leſs known, at this time, to the adminiſtration at home, than they were before, to the perſons in power, when the royal charter was granted by King Charles the ſecond; from which knowledge of them it was impoſſible that any thing immediately,

Pennſylvania not without enemies at Court.

immediately, or directly, of a military nature could reaſonably be expected in the ſettlement:—which charter expreſsly mentions, the motives for the ſaid grant were,—"A commendable deſire of *William Penn* to enlarge our *Engliſh* empire, and promote ſuch uſeful commodities as may be of benefit to us, and our dominions, and alſo to reduce the ſavage natives, by gentle and juſt manners, to the love of civil ſociety, and Chriſtian religion;"—beſides a debt, due from the government to his father, admiral *Penn*. 1701.

Motives for the *grant* & *ſettlement* of Pennſylvania.

Such motives as theſe, and not thoſe of a military nature, were moſt certainly the chief inducement for the ſettlement of *Pennſylvania*, not only in the ſettlers themſelves, together with the peaceable enjoyment of their religion, and civil liberties, but alſo in thoſe, who made the grant;—if they properly knew to whom, and on what principles they made it; which it would be very abſurd to deny:—As for the experiment, or conſequence, of the operation of theſe principles, or motives, in the province, it will, in part, hereafter appear in this hiſtory.

Pennſylvania was not firſt ſettled from views of a *military* nature, but the contrary.

The cultivation of peace and civilization, and of the articles of trade and commerce, in which the *Quakers* were known to excel, muſt be acknowledged to be no leſs important and neceſſary, to render a ſtate happy and proſperous, than weapons of war, and fighting of battles; and theſe people were then, and have ſince been ſtill more known, from experience, to practiſe, as well as profeſs, thoſe ways and means, which excel the latter, ſo far as the prevention of an evil does the cure of it.

War not better than peace, &c.

Moreover, ſince it is improbable, that people of this kind will ever be very numerous, if we judge of the future by what is paſt; but that war and its conſequences, will be more likely to prevail among the generality of mankind, ſo long as the cauſe of

Motives and means of peace rather to be encouraged

1701. of it exists in the human race; so the rarity of such people, their innocence, and known great utility, in other respects, seem, according to reason, to render them rather objects of encouragement, in their own way, than of oppression, even, from the military department itself, but more especially so, where peace is preferred to war:—But, if it should be otherwise, and they should so increase, as much to prevail among mankind, then the occasion for war would consequently so much decrease, or be taken away; which would be a happy change indeed.

Transactions between W. Penn & the Indians.

In the Second-month, 1701, *Connoodaghtoh*, king of the *Susquahanna, Minquays* or *Conestoga Indians*; *Wopaththa*, (alias *Opessah*) king of the *Shawanese*; *Weewhinjough*, chief of the *Ganawese*, inhabiting of the head of *Potomack*; also *Ahookassongh*, brother to the emperor, (or great king of the *Onondagoes*) of the *Five Nations*, having arrived at *Philadelphia*, with other *Indians* of note, &c. in number about forty, after a treaty, and several speeches between them and *William Penn*, in Council, the following *articles of agreement* were solemnly made, concluded, and the instrument for the same, duly executed by both parties, *viz.*

Articles of Agreement.

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, indented, made, concluded and agreed upon, at *Philadelphia*, the 23d. day of the Second-month, called April, 1701, between *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pensilvania*, and territories thereunto belonging, on the one part, and *Connoodaghtoh*, king of the *Indians*, inhabiting upon and about, the river *Susquahanna*, in the said province, and *Widaagh* (alias *Orettyagh*;) *Koqueash* and *Andaggy*, *Tunckquagh*, chiefs of the said nations of *Indians*; and *Wopaththa*, king, and *Lemoytungh* and *Pemoyajoaagh*, chiefs of the nations of the *Shawanna Indians*; and *Ahookassongh*, brother to the emperor, for,

for, and in behalf of the emperor; and *Weewhinjough*, *Chequittayh*, *Takyerwsan* & *Woapraſhoa*, chiefs of the nations of the *Indians*, inhabiting in and about the northern part of the river *Potomack*, in the ſaid province, for, and in behalf of themſelves and ſucceſſors, and their ſeveral nations and people, on the other part, as followeth: 1701.

Their friendſhip confirmed.

"That, as hitherto there hath always been a good underſtanding and neighbourhood between the ſaid *William Penn*, and his Lieutenants, ſince his firſt arrival in the ſaid province, and the ſeveral nations of *Indians*, inhabiting in and about the ſame, ſo there ſhall be, for ever hereafter, a firm and laſting peace continued between *William Penn*, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and all the *Engliſh*, and other Chriſtian inhabitants of the ſaid province, and the ſaid kings and chiefs, and their ſucceſſors, and all the ſeveral people of the nations of *Indians* aforeſaid; and that they ſhall, for ever hereafter, be as one head, and one heart, and live in true friendſhip and amity, as one people.

Never to injure one another.

"*Item*, That the ſaid kings and chiefs (each for himſelf, and his people, engaging) ſhall, at no time, hurt, injure, or defraud, or ſuffer to be hurt, injured, or defrauded, by any of their *Indians*, any inhabitant, or inhabitants of the ſaid province, either their perſons or eſtates; And that the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall not ſuffer to be done, or committed, by any of the ſubjects of *England*, within the ſaid province, any act of hoſtility, or violence, wrong or injury to, or againſt any of the ſaid *Indians*; but ſhall, on both ſides, at all times, readily do juſtice, and perform all acts and offices of friendſhip and good-will, to oblige each other to a laſting peace, as aforeſaid.

To be ſubject to the laws of the *government*.

"*Item*, That all and every of the ſaid kings and chiefs, and all and every particular of the nations under them, ſhall, at all times, behave themſelves regularly and ſoberly, according to the laws of this

1701. this government, while they live near, or among the *Chriſtian* inhabitants thereof, and that the ſaid *Indians* ſhall have the full and free privileges and immunities of all the ſaid laws, as any other inhabitant; they duly owning and acknowledging the authority of the crown of *England*, and government of this province.

Not to aid or abet the enemies of the government.

" *Item*, That none of the ſaid *Indians* ſhall, at any time, be aiding, aſſiſting, or abetting any other nation, whether *Indians*, or others, that ſhall not, at ſuch time, be in amity with the crown of *England*, and with this government.

To give due notice of ill Deſigns.

" *Item*, That, if, at any time, any of the ſaid *Indians*, by means of evil minded perſons, and ſowers of ſedition, ſhould hear any unkind or diſadvantageous reports of the *Engliſh*, as if they had evil deſigns againſt any of the ſaid *Indians*, in ſuch caſe, ſuch *Indians* ſhall ſend notice thereof, to the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs, or ſucceſſors, or their lieutenants, and ſhall not give credence to the ſaid reports, till by that means they ſhall be fully ſatiſfied concerning the truth thereof; and that the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and ſucceſſors, or their lieutenants, ſhall, at all times, in ſuch caſe, do the like by them.

Not to admit ſtrange Indians to ſettle in the province.

" *Item*, That the ſaid kings and chiefs, and their ſucceſſors, ſhall not ſuffer any ſtrange nations of *Indians* to ſettle, or plant, on the further ſide of *Suſquahanna*, or about *Potomack* river, but ſuch as are there already ſeated, nor bring any other *Indians* into any part of this province, without the ſpecial approbation and permiſſion of the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and ſucceſſors.

Regulation of the Indian trade.

" *Item*, That, for the prevention of abuſes, that are too frequently put upon the ſaid *Indians*, in *trade*, the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall not ſuffer, or permit, any perſon to *trade*, or converſe, with any of the ſaid *Indians*, but

but ſuch as ſhall be firſt allowed and approved, by an inſtrument, under the hand and ſeal of him, the ſaid *William Penn*, or his heirs, or ſucceſſors, or their Lieutenants; and that the ſaid *Indians* ſhall ſuffer no perſon whatſoever to buy or ſell, or have commerce with any of them, the ſaid *Indians*, but ſuch as ſhall firſt be approved, as aforeſaid. 1701.

"*Item*, That the ſaid *Indians* ſhall not ſell, or diſpoſe of, any of their ſkins, peltry, or furs, or any other effects of their hunting, to any perſon, or perſons whatſoever, out of the ſaid province, nor to any other perſon, but ſuch as ſhall be authoriſed, to trade with them, as aforeſaid: And, that, for their encouragement, the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall take care to have them, the ſaid *Indians*, duly furniſhed with all ſorts of neceſſary goods, for their uſe, at reaſonable rates.

Of the Potomack Indians.

"*Item*, That the *Potomack Indians*, aforeſaid, with their colony, ſhall have free leave of the ſaid *William Penn*, to ſettle upon any part of *Potomack* river, within the bounds of this province: They ſtrictly obſerving and practiſing all, and ſingular, the articles aforeſaid, to them relating.

Confirmation of former ſale of lands, &c.

"*Item*, The *Indians* of *Coneſtogo*, upon, and about, the river, *Suſquahanna*, and more eſpecially, the ſaid *Connoodaghtoh*, their king, doth fully agree to, and by theſe preſents, abſolutely ratify the bargain and ſale of lands, lying near and about the ſaid river, formerly made to the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and ſucceſſors; and ſince, by *Orettyagh* and *Andaggy*, *Junckquagh*, parties to theſe preſents, confirmed to the ſaid *William Penn*, his heirs and ſucceſſors, by a deed, bearing date, the 13th. day of September laſt, under their hands and ſeals, duly executed. And the ſaid *Connoodaghtoh* doth, for himſelf and his nation, covenant and agree, that he will at all times, be ready further

1701. ther to confirm, and make good the said sale, according to the tenor of the same; and that the said *Indians* of *Susquahanna* shall answer the said *William Penn*, his heirs and successors, for the good behaviour and conduct of the said Potomack *Indians*; and for their performing the several articles herein expressed.

W. Penn obliges *himself*, &c. to perpetual friendship with the Indians.

"*Item*, The said *William Penn* doth hereby promise, for himself, his heirs and successors, that he and they will, at all times, shew themselves true friends and brothers to all, and every of the said *Indians*, by assisting them with the best of their advices, directions and counsels, and will, in all things, just and reasonable, befriend them; they behaving themselves, as aforesaid, and submitting to the laws of this province, in all things, as the *English*, and other *Christians* therein, do;—To which they, the said *Indians*, hereby agree and oblige themselves, and their posterity for ever.

These Articles never to be broken

"*In witness whereof*, the said parties have, as a confirmation, made mutual presents to each other; the *Indians*, in five parcels of skins, and the said *William Penn*, in several *English* goods and merchandizes, as a binding pledge of the premises, never to be broken or violated;—And, *as a further testimony thereof*, have also to these presents set their hands and seals, the day and year above written."

Abuses in the Indian trade, &c.

After this, in the Third-month, the Proprietary having represented to the Council, the great abuses, committed in the *Indian* trade, with the dangers and disadvantages, which might arise from thence to the province, and having proposed, that proper measures should be concerted, for the regulation thereof, and for redressing certain grievances, respecting the same, it was *Resolved*, as absolutely necessary, that some effectual method should be agreed on and used for carrying on the trade by a

Resolution to correct them.

certain

certain number, or company, of perſons, with a joint ſtock, under certain regulations and reſtrictions, more particularly in regard to ſpirituous liquors ſold them; which company ſhould uſe all reaſonable means and endeavours to induce the *Indians* to a true ſenſe of a proper value and eſteem of the *Chriſtian religion*, by ſetting before them good examples of probity and candour, both in commerce and behaviour; and that care ſhould be taken to have them duly inſtructed in the fundamentals of *Chriſtianity*:—This appears afterwards to have been, in a good degree, put in execution, ſo far as was judged requiſite, or found practicable. 1701.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XV.

The Proprietary's adminiſtration, though attended with difficulties, was diſtinguiſhed with great paternal care, and happy conſequences.—Reaſons for his return to England.—Names of the members of Aſſembly, in 1701.—The Proprietary's ſpeech to the Aſſembly, with their anſwer.—Further proceedings between them.—The Proprietary takes leave of the Indians, and gives them good advice.—Diſagreement between the province and territories revives again.—The Proprietary endeavours to reconcile them.—His letter to the Aſſembly, urging their agreement, &c.—The laſt charter of Pennſylvania, &c.—Charter of the Council, &c.—The Proprietary alſo grants a charter to the city of Philadelphia.—Its purport.—Andrew Hamilton of New-Jerſey being conſtituted Deputy Governor, and James Logan Secretary of the province.—The Proprietary ſails for England.

1701. IT was thought, from ſome circumſtances, that the Proprietary's real intention, at this time, was to ſpend the remainder of his life, in his province, as himſelf declared, and that without being obliged to croſs the ocean any more; he accordingly applied himſelf with much diligence and aſſiduity to the offices of government, and the eſtabliſhment of wholeſome regulations and uſages; in which the inevitable difficulties, ariſing from the various diſpoſitions, and oppoſite intereſts and claims of ſuch a mixture of different kinds of people and humours,

The Proprietary's application & diligence

Yet cannot pleaſe all.

as

as the colony consisted of, and in so much liberty as they enjoyed, afforded him much trial of skill and patience: yet his administration was distinguished by great paternal care and influence, as well as provident circumspection; and both the province and territories, notwithstanding the difficulties, hardships, and inevitable disappointments, which, more or less, always attend the settlement and well ordering of any new country, appear to have so much tried the patience of some of the people, as to occasion him more trouble, in some respects, than otherwise probably would have been necessary, were, in reality, when compared with other places of similar age and circumstances, in an easy, flourishing and happy condition. 1701.

Transactions in England call home the Proprietary

But, during this time of his absence from *England*, it appears that measures were in agitation there, for reducing both his, and the other proprietary governments, in *America*, into regal ones, under pretence of advancing the prerogative of the crown, and the national advantage;* and a bill, for that purpose, was actually brought into the House of Lords: Upon which, such of the owners of land in *Pennsylvania*, as were then in *England*,

* Attempts of this nature were likewise afterwards made, as appears in *Anderson's* history of trade and commerce. vol 2d. under the year 1715; wherein are the following observations on this head, *viz.*

—"Upon a petition of the agent for the planters and merchants of *Carolina*, and of the other miserable inhabitants of that colony, oppressed by the Lords Proprietaries, and their defence against the *Indians* neglected, &c. the House of Commons addressed the King, to send them relief, and in the said year, (1715) a bill was brought into the *British House of Commons, for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments, in America, and of his Majesty's plantations there*. The principal scope of which was, for the reducing all the said proprietary charter governments into regal ones. Ever since the proprietary colonies began to be very considerable, *i. e.* since the death of King *Charles* the second, and more especially since the revolution, anno 1688, both King *William* and Queen *Ann's* councils and ministries foresaw the great consequence, it would be of to the Crown and Kingdom, to buy off the Lords Proprietaries of colonies, before they should grow too powerful; and frequent treaties were held with them by the Ministers of the Crown, for that end; particularly with the *truly great Mr. William Penn*, for the purchase of *Pennsylvania*."—

1701. *England*, immediately repreſented the hardſhip of their caſe to the *Parliament*, ſoliciting time for *William Penn's* return, to anſwer for himſelf; and accordingly they diſpatched to him an account of the ſtate of the affair, and preſſed his return, as ſoon as poſſible; with which he found it indiſpenſably neceſſary to comply. This firſt occaſioned his ſummoning of that Aſſembly, which agreed to the charter of privileges before mentioned; to whom, on the 16th. of September, 1701, he made the following ſpeech,* *viz.*

He ſummons the Aſſembly.

"*Friends*,

The Proprietary's ſpeech to the Aſſembly.

"YOU cannot be more concerned, than I am, at the frequency of your ſervice, in Aſſembly, ſince I am very ſenſible of the trouble and charge, it contracts upon the country: But the motives being conſidered, and that you muſt have met, of courſe, in the next month, I hope you will not think it an hardſhip now.

"The reaſon, that haſtens your ſeſſions, is the neceſſity, I am under, through the endeavours of the enemies of the proſperity of this country, to go for *England*, where, taking advantage of my abſence, ſome have attempted, by falſe, or unreaſonable charges, to undermine our government, and thereby the true value of our labours and proſperity. Government having been our firſt encouragement, I confeſs, I cannot think of ſuch a voyage

* The Names of the Members of this Aſſembly, for the reſpective counties, choſen according to the Governor's writs, were:—

For Philadelphia.	*For Bucks.*	*For Cheſter.*
Anthony Morris,	Joſeph Growdon, *Speaker*,	John Blunſton,
Samuel Richardſon,	John Swift,	Robert Pile,
Nicholas Walne,	Joſhua Hoopes,	Nathaniel Newlin,
Iſaac Norris.	William Paxton.	Andrew Job.
For New Caſtle.	*For Kent.*	*For Suſſex.*
Jaſper Yeates,	William Rodney,	William Clarke,
John Donnaldſon,	John Brinkloe,	Luke Watſon, junior,
Richard Hallowell,	William Morton,	Samuel Preſton,
Adam Peterſon.	John Walker.	Joſeph Booth.

voyage without great reluctancy of mind, having promiſed myſelf the quietneſs of a wilderneſs, and that I might ſtay ſo long, at leaſt, with you, as to render every body entirely eaſy and ſafe. For my heart is among you, as well as my body, whatever ſome people may pleaſe to think: and no unkindneſs, or diſappointment ſhall (with ſubmiſſion to God's Providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country, and reſolution to return, and ſettle my family and poſterity in it: But having reaſon to believe, I can, at this time, beſt ſerve you and myſelf, on that ſide of the water, neither the rudeneſs of the ſeaſon, nor tender circumſtances of my family can over-rule my inclinations to undertake it. 1701.

The Proprietary's ſpeech to the Aſſembly.

"Think, therefore, (ſince all men are mortal) of ſome ſuitable expedient and proviſion, for your ſafety, as well in your privileges, as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatſoever may render us happy, by a nearer union of our intereſts.

"Review again your laws; propoſe new ones, that may better your circumſtances; and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that the Parliament ſits the end of next month; and that the ſooner I am there, the ſafer, I hope, we ſhall be here.

"I muſt recommend to your ſerious thoughts and care the King's letter to me, for the aſſiſtance of *New-York*, with *three hundred and fifty pounds ſterling*, as a frontier government; and therefore expoſed to a much greater expence, in proportion to other colonies; which I called the laſt Aſſembly to take into their conſideration, and they were pleaſed, for the reaſons then given, to refer to this. Vide page 425.

"I am alſo to tell you the good news of the Governor of *New-York's* happy iſſue of his conferences with the *five nations of Indians;* that he hath not only made peace with them, for the King's ſubjects

1701. ſubjects of that colony; but (as I had by ſome letters before deſired him) for thoſe of all other governments, under the crown of *England*, on the continent of *America*, as alſo the nations of *Indians*, within theſe reſpective colonies; which certainly merits our acknowledgments.

The Proprietary's ſpeech to the Aſſembly.

"I have done, when I have told you, that unanimity and diſpatch are the life of buſineſs, and that I deſire and expect from you, for your own ſakes; ſince it may ſo much contribute to the diſappointment of thoſe, that too long have ſought the ruin of our young country."

To this ſpeech the Aſſembly replied in the following addreſs.

"*May it pleaſe the Proprietary and Governor,*

The Aſſembly's anſwer.

"WE have, this day, in our Aſſembly, read thy ſpeech, delivered yeſterday, in Council; and, having duly conſidered the ſame, cannot but be under a deep ſenſe of ſorrow, for thy purpoſe of ſo ſpeedily leaving us, and at the ſame time, taking notice of thy paternal regard to us, and our poſterity, the Freeholders of this province and territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expreſſions of being ready to comply with whatſoever expedient and proviſions ſhall offer, for our ſafety, as well in privileges as property, and what elſe may render us happy, in a nearer union of intereſts; not doubting the performance of what thou haſt been ſo lovingly pleaſed to promiſe, we do, in much humility, and, as a token of our gratitude, return unto thee, the unfeigned thanks of this houſe.

"*Subſcribed by order of the houſe,*

"JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker.*"

After this the Aſſembly preſented to him another addreſs, conſiſting of twenty-one articles. It reſpected his ſucceſſor, in the government, and the

the confirmation of certain privileges, therein ſpecified. To every one of which he made a ſpecial anſwer. The firſt of theſe articles, ſo far as regarded a proper perſon to ſucceed him, as Deputy, being particularly inſiſted on, he condeſended ſo much as to make them an offer, to nominate a ſubſtitute themſelves! From which, acknowledging the favor offered them, they modeſtly excuſed themſelves; declaring they did not think themſelves qualified for the choice, and deſired to leave it to the Governor's pleaſure. The reſt of the petition of this addreſs (which, with the Governor's anſwer, may be ſeen in the appendix No. 5) ſo far as the Proprietary thought proper to comply with it, was either afterwards granted, in the two charters of the province and city, then in agitation, or otherwiſe mutually agreed, to general ſatisfaction; though in ſome parts of it, the Aſſembly had meddled with his property, in ſuch a particular manner, as, he declares, was not properly cognizable by them, in that capacity.* 1701.

Vide Appendix, No. 5.

The *Sachems* of the *Suſquahanna* and *Shawanna Indians*, and others of that people, being come to *Philadelphia*, to take leave of the Proprietary, on the

The Indians come to take leave of the Proprietor.

* "At a Council held in *Philadelphia*, the 26th of the Seventh-month, 1701.

"Preſent:

"The Proprietary and Governor.

"Samuel Carpenter, John Gueſt,
"Thomas Story, Caleb Puſey.

"THE Governor having deſired a conference with the Aſſembly, they attended, requeſting to know his pleaſure.

"The Governor ſignified to them, that, in his ſpeech, he had recommended to them, to conſider their privileges as well as property, in which he had juſtly given privileges the precedency to property, as the bulwark, to ſecure the other; but they, in their addreſs (which he had conſidered) inſiſted not only on property alone, but upon ſuch particulars as could, by no means, be cognizable by an Aſſembly; and lay only between him and the particulars concerned: In which he had done, and always would do, to the utmoſt, what becomes an honeſt man, to all thoſe he agreed with;—but he would never ſuffer an Aſſembly to intermeddle with his property, leſt it ſhould be drawn into a precedent, if it ſhould pleaſe God a Governor ſhould preſide here, diſtinct from the Proprietary," &c.

Minutes of Council.

1701. subjects of that colony; but (as I had by some letters before desired him) for those of all other governments, under the crown of *England*, on the continent of *America*, as also the nations of *Indians*, within these respective colonies; which certainly merits our acknowledgments.

The Proprietary's speech to the Assembly.

"I have done, when I have told you, that unanimity and dispatch are the life of business, and that I desire and expect from you, for your own sakes; since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those, that too long have sought the ruin of our young country."

To this speech the Assembly replied in the following address.

"*May it please the Proprietary and Governor*,

The Assembly's answer.

"WE have, this day, in our Assembly, read thy speech, delivered yesterday, in Council; and, having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of sorrow, for thy purpose of so speedily leaving us, and at the same time, taking notice of thy paternal regard to us, and our posterity, the Freeholders of this province and territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expressions of being ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and provisions shall offer, for our safety, as well in privileges as property, and what else may render us happy, in a nearer union of interests; not doubting the performance of what thou hast been so lovingly pleased to promise, we do, in much humility, and, as a token of our gratitude, return unto thee, the unfeigned thanks of this house.

"*Subscribed by order of the house*,

"JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker*."

After this the Assembly presented to him another address, consisting of twenty-one articles. It respected his successor, in the government, and the

the confirmation of certain privileges, therein ſpecified. To every one of which he made a ſpecial anſwer. The firſt of theſe articles, ſo far as regarded a proper perſon to ſucceed him, as Deputy, being particularly inſiſted on, he condeſended ſo much as to make them an offer, to nominate a ſubſtitute themſelves! From which, acknowledging the favor offered them, they modeſtly excuſed themſelves; declaring they did not think themſelves qualified for the choice, and deſired to leave it to the Governor's pleaſure. The reſt of the petition of this addreſs (which, with the Governor's anſwer, may be ſeen in the appendix No. 5) ſo far as the Proprietary thought proper to comply with it, was either afterwards granted, in the two charters of the province and city, then in agitation, or otherwiſe mutually agreed, to general ſatisfaction; though in ſome parts of it, the Aſſembly had meddled with his property, in ſuch a particular manner, as, he declares, was not properly cognizable by them, in that capacity.* 1701.

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Minutes of Council.

1701. the 7th. of the Eighth-month, he ſpoke to them in Council,* and told them, "That the Aſſembly was then enacting a law, according to their deſire, to prevent their being abuſed by ſelling of *rum* among them; that he requeſted them to unite all their endeavours, and their utmoſt exertion, in conjunction with thoſe of the government, to put the ſaid law in execution.

His ſpeech to them.

At the ſame time he likewiſe informed them, "That now, this was like to be his laſt interview with them, at leaſt before his return;—That he had always loved and been kind to them; and ever ſhould continue ſo to be, not through any politic deſign, or, on account of ſelf intereſt, but from a moſt real affection:"—"And he deſired them, in his abſence, to cultivate friendſhip with thoſe, whom he ſhould leave behind in authority; as they would always, in ſome degree, continue to be ſo to them, as himſelf had ever been;—Laſtly, That he had charged the members of Council, and then alſo renewed the ſame charge, that they ſhould, in all reſpects, be kind to them, and entertain them with all courteſy and demonſtrations of good-will, as himſelf had ever done: which the ſaid members promiſed faithfully to obſerve;—then, after making them ſome preſents, they withdrew."

Extract from the Minutes of Council.

But during theſe tranſactions, and while the charter of privileges was under conſideration and preparing, the diſagreement, which had before appeared, between the members of Aſſembly for the the province and thoſe for the territories, began again to exhibit itſelf, and grow worſe, tending to an open rupture. The territory men were ſaid to have been for obtaining ſome excluſive powers, or rights, particular to themſelves, which, being thought

Diſagreement between the Province & Territories.

* The Members of Council preſent were:—
Edward Shippen, Thomas Story, Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Puſey, John Gueſt, Griffith Owen.

thought unreaſonable, could not, therefore, be granted them; and not being able to carry their point, on the 10th. inſtant, the members for the territories abruptly left the Houſe; declaring their intention of returning to their reſpective homes. But, on the 14th. moſt of them appeared before the Proprietary, in Council, remonſtrating againſt ſome proceedings of the Aſſembly, on the 10th. inſtant, which, they declared, were, in their conſequences, highly injurious and deſtructive to the privileges of the *lower counties*, and which, conſiſtent with their duty to their conſtituents, they apprehended, they could not ſit there, to ſee carried on; and, therefore, they informed the Governor, they thought it beſt for them to depart to their reſpective habitations:— 1701.

Diſagreement between the Province & Territories.

The Proprietary further enquired into the affair and both heard and anſwered all their reaſons and objections; and then told them, "That he took this their conduct very unkind, even to himſelf in particular."

Upon which *Jaſper Yeates*, in behalf of the reſt, endeavoured to excuſe, or further explain, their behaviour, in this action, by declaring their great affection and regard for the Proprietary, but, that they muſt be true to thoſe, whom they repreſented.—

At another meeting of the Proprietary and Members of Council, on the ſame day, the Aſſembly being ſent for, both thoſe for the province, and the ſecluding members appeared;

The Proprietary told them, "That his time being ſhort, he muſt come briefly to the point; that it was no ſmall wound to him, to think, that at the *earneſt deſire* of the *lower counties*, as well as the *good-will* of the *upper*, he had engaged in an undertaking, which coſt him, at leaſt, two or three thouſand pounds, to unite them, and yet, that they ſhould now endanger that union, and divide, after

1701. they had been recognized as one, not only by the King's *commiſſion* to Governor *Fletcher*, but alſo by his *letters patent*, for his own reſtoration, and the King's ſeveral letters:—he, therefore, would not have any thing *reſolved* on, but what was conſiderate and weighty, leſt it ſhould look as unkind, and now, at his departure, carry a very ill report of them to *England*."

The Proprietor endeavours to *reconcile* the Province & Territories.

The territory members objected, that they were great ſufferers by that act of union, however it was, at firſt, intended; and could not ſupport the burden of the charge.

The Proprietary replied, "They were free to break off, and might act diſtinctly by themſelves;" at which they ſeemed pleaſed, and expreſſed their ſatisfaction; "But then," continued the Proprietary, "it muſt be upon amicable terms, and a good underſtanding;—That they muſt firſt *reſolve* to ſettle the laws;—and that, as the intereſt of the *province*, and that of thoſe *lower counties* would be inſeparably the ſame, they ſhould both uſe a conduct conſiſtent with that relation," &c.

They remain obſtinate.

They appear to have remained obſtinate, by the following letter of the Proprietary, written the next day, and directed to the Speaker, to be communicated to the whole Houſe, *viz.*

"*Friends*,

The Proprietary's letter to the Aſſembly.

"YOUR union is what I deſire; but your peace and accommodating one another, is what I muſt expect from you: The reputation of it is ſomething; the reality much more. And I deſire you to remember and obſerve what I ſay: Yield in *circumſtantials*, to preſerve *eſſentials*; and, being ſafe in one another, you will always be ſo in eſteem with me. Make me not ſad, now I am going to leave you; ſince it is for you, as well as for,

"*Your Friend and Proprietary and Governor*,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"*October 15th.* 1701."

Hence the Proprietary's influence and authority, though with difficulty, appear to have prevailed on them, to a preſent accommodation, with the proviſion, in the following charter, for a conditional ſeparation, if they choſe it, within the ſpace of three years. 1701. They come to a preſent accommodation.

In May, 1700, the former charter having been ſurrendered into the hands of the Proprietary and Governor, by ſix parts in ſeven of the Aſſembly, on the 28th. day of October, 1701, juſt before his departure, the Council, the Aſſembly of the province, and ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of *Philadelphia* attending, he preſented them with their laſt *charter* of privileges, which is as follows, *viz.* The charter of privileges executed.

"THE CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES, The charter itſelf.
"Granted by *William Penn*, Eſquire, to the inhabitants of *Pennſylvania* and territories.

"*William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the province of *Pennſylvania*, and *territories* thereunto belonging, to all, to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, ſendeth *Greeting:*

"WHEREAS, King *Charles* the ſecond, by his letters patent, under the great ſeal of *England*, bearing date, the fourth day of March, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty, was graciouſly pleaſed to give and grant unto me, and my heirs and aſſigns for ever, this province of *Pennſylvania*, with divers great powers and juriſdictions, for the well government thereof. Recital of the King's Letters Patent.

"*And whereas*, the King's deareſt brother, *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, &c. by his deeds of feoffment, under his hand and ſeal, duly perfected, bearing date, the 24th. day of Auguſt, one thouſand ſix hundred, eighty and two, did grant unto me, my heirs and aſſigns, all that tract of land, now called the territories of *Pennſylvania*, Of the D. of *York's* deeds of feoffment.

together

1701. together with powers and juriſdictions, for the good government thereof.

And of the former charter. "*And whereas*, for the encouragement of all the freemen and planters, that might be concerned in the ſaid province and territories, and for the good government thereof, I, the ſaid *William Penn*, in the year one thouſand, ſix hundred and eighty and three, for me, my heirs and aſſigns, did grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers therein, divers liberties, franchiſes and properties, as, by the ſaid grant, entitled, "*The frame of the government of the province of Pennſylvania and territories thereunto belonging, in America*," may appear; which charter, or frame, being found, in ſome parts of it, not ſo ſuitable to the preſent circumſtances of the inhabitants, was, in the Third-month, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred, delivered up to me, by ſix parts of ſeven of the freemen of this province and territories, in General Aſſembly met, proviſion being made in the ſaid charter for that end and purpoſe.

"*And whereas*, I was then pleaſed to promiſe, that I would reſtore the ſaid charter to them again, with neceſſary alterations, or, in lieu thereof, give them another, better adapted to anſwer the preſent circumſtances and conditions of the ſaid inhabitants; which they have now, by the Repreſentatives, in General Aſſembly met, at *Philadelphia*, requeſted me to grant.

"KNOW YE THEREFORE, That, for the further *well-being*, and *good government* of the ſaid province and territories; and in purſuance of the rights and powers, before mentioned, I, the ſaid *William Penn*, do declare, grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers, and other inhabitants of, and in, the ſaid Province and Territories thereunto annexed, forever.

I. "BECAUSE no people can be truly happy, though under the greateſt enjoyment of civil liberties,

liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences, as to religious profeſſion and worſhip; And Almighty God being the only Lord of conſcience, Father of lights and ſpirits; and the Author, as well as Object, of all divine knowledge, faith and worſhip, who only doth enlighten the mind, and purſwade and convince the underſtandings of people, I do hereby grant and declare, that no perſon, or perſons, inhabiting this province or territories, who ſhall confeſs and acknowledge one Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world; and profeſs him, or themſelves obliged to live quietly under the civil government, ſhall be, in any caſe, moleſted, or prejudiced, in his or their perſon, or eſtate, becauſe of his or their conſcientious perſwaſion, or practice, nor be compelled, to frequent, or maintain, any religious worſhip, place or miniſtry, contrary to his, or their mind, or to do or ſuffer, any other act, or thing, contrary to their religious perſwaſion. 1701. Liberty of conſcience, &c. granted

"And, that all perſons, who alſo profeſs to believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Saviour of the world, ſhall be capable (notwithſtanding their other perſwaſions, or practices, in point of conſcience and religion) to ſerve this government in any capacity, both legiſlatively and executively, he, or they ſolemnly promiſing, when lawfully required, allegiance to the King, as ſovereign, and fidelity to the Proprietary and Governor, and taking the atteſts, as now eſtabliſhed by law, made at *Newcaſtle*, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred, entitled, "*An act directing the atteſts of ſeveral officers and miniſters*, as now amended and confirmed this preſent Aſſembly. Chriſtians of all kinds capable of offices, &c. Repealed by the *queen* anno 1705.

II. "For the well-governing of this province and territories, there ſhall be an Aſſembly, yearly choſen, by the freemen thereof, to conſiſt of four perſons out of each county, of moſt note for virtue, An Aſſembly to be choſen annually.

1701. tue, wiſdom and ability, (or of a greater number, at any time, as the Governor and Aſſembly ſhall agree) upon the firſt day of October, for ever; and ſhall ſit on the fourteenth of the ſame month at *Philadelphia*, unleſs the Governor and Council, for the time being, ſhall ſee cauſe to appoint another place, within the ſaid province or territories: which Aſſembly ſhall have power to chuſe a Speaker, and other their officers; and ſhall be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members; ſit upon their own adjournments, appoint committees; propoſe bills, in order to paſs into laws; impeach criminals and redreſs grievances; and ſhall have all other powers and privileges of an Aſſembly, according to the rights of the freeborn ſubjects of *England*, and as is uſual in any of the King's plantations in *America*.

Powers and privileges of the Aſſembly.

"And if any county, or counties, ſhall refuſe, or neglect, to chuſe their reſpective repreſentatives, as aforeſaid, or if choſen, do not meet to ſerve in Aſſembly, thoſe, who are ſo choſen and met, ſhall have the full power of an Aſſembly, in as ample a manner as if all the Repreſentatives had been choſen and met, provided they are not leſs than two-thirds of the whole number, that ought to meet.

Two-thirds met to have the whole power, &c.

And, that the qualifications of electors and elected, and all other matters and things relating to elections of Repreſentatives, to ſerve in Aſſemblies, though not herein particularly expreſſed, ſhall be and remain, as by a law of this government, made at *Newcaſtle*, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred, entitled, "*An act to aſcertain the number of members of Aſſembly, and to regulate the elections.*"

Qualifications of electors and elected.

Repealed by the Queen, 1705.

III. "That the freemen in each reſpective county, at the time and place of meeting, for electing their repreſentatives, to ſerve in Aſſembly, may, ſo often as there ſhall be occaſion, chuſe a double number of perſons, to preſent to the Governor, for

for ſheriffs and coroners, to ſerve for three years if they ſo long behave themſelves well, out of which elections and preſentments the Governor ſhall nominate and commiſſionate one for each of the ſaid offices, the third after ſuch preſentment, or elſe the firſt named in ſuch preſentment, for each office, as aforeſaid, ſhall ſtand and ſerve in that office, for the time before reſpectively limited: In caſe of death and default, ſuch vacancies ſhall be ſupplied by the Governor, to ſerve to the end of the ſaid term. 1701. Elections of Sheriffs and Coroners.

"Provided always, That, if the ſaid freemen ſhall, at any time neglect, or decline to chuſe a perſon, or perſons, for either, or both the aforeſaid offices, then, and in ſuch caſe, the perſons, that are, or ſhall be, in the reſpective offices of Sheriffs, or Coroners, at the time of election, ſhall remain therein, until they ſhall be removed by another election, as aforeſaid.

"And, that the Juſtices of the reſpective counties ſhall, or may, nominate, or preſent, to the Governor, three perſons, to ſerve for Clerk of the Peace for the ſaid county, when there is a vacancy; one of which the Governor ſhall commiſſionate within ten days after ſuch preſentment, or elſe the firſt nominated ſhall ſerve in the ſaid office, during good behaviour. Of the clerk of the peace.

IV. "That the laws of this government ſhall be in this ſtile, *viz. By the Governor, with the conſent and approbation of the Freemen in General Aſſembly met*, and ſhall be, after confirmation by the Governor, forthwith recorded in the Rolls-office, and kept at *Philadelphia;* unleſs the Governor and Aſſembly ſhall agree to appoint another place. Stile of the laws.

V. "That all criminals ſhall have the ſame privileges of witneſſes and council, as their proſecutors. Privilege of criminals.

VI. "That no perſon, or perſons, ſhall, or may, at any time hereafter, be obliged to anſwer

1701. any complaint, matter, or thing, whatſoever, relating to property, before the Governor and Council, or in any other place, but in the ordinary courts of juſtice, unleſs appeals thereunto ſhall be hereafter, by law appointed.

Diſputes of property not to come before the Governor and Council.

VII. "That no perſon within this government ſhall be licenſed by the Governer, to keep ordinary, tavern, or houſe of public entertainment, but ſuch, who are firſt recommended to him, under the hands of the juſtices of the reſpective counties, ſigned in open court; which juſtices are, and ſhall be, hereby empowered to ſuppreſs and forbid any perſon keeping ſuch public houſe, as aforeſaid, upon their miſbehaviour, on ſuch penalties, as the law doth, or ſhall, direct; and to recommend others, from time to time, as they ſhall ſee occaſion.

Tavern-keepers, &c. to be recommended before licenſed.

VIII. "If any perſon, through temptation, or melancholy, ſhall deſtroy himſelf, his eſtate, real and perſonal, ſhall, notwithſtanding, deſcend to his wife and children, or relations, as if he had died a natural death; and if any perſon ſhall be deſtroyed or killed by caſualty, or accident, there ſhall be no forfeiture to the Governor by reaſon thereof.

Eſtates of perſons killing themſelves, &c.

"And no act, law or ordinance whatſoever ſhall, at any time hereafter, be made, or done, to alter, change, or diminiſh the form, or effect of this charter, or of any part, or clauſe, therein, contrary to the true intent, and meaning thereof, without the conſent of the Governor, for the time being, and ſix parts of ſeven of the Aſſembly met.

"And, becauſe the happineſs of mankind depends ſo much upon the enjoying of liberty of their conſciences, as aforeſaid, I do hereby ſolemnly declare, promiſe and grant, for me, my heirs and aſſigns, that the firſt article of this charter, relating to liberty of conſcience, and every part and clauſe therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof,

Liberty of conſcience ſhall be for ever.

thereof, ſhall be kept, and remain, without any alteration, inviolably for ever. 1701.

"And, laſtly, I, the ſaid *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the province of *Pennſylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging, for myſelf, my heirs and aſſigns, have ſolemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby ſolemnly declare, grant and confirm, that neither I, my heirs or aſſigns, ſhall procure, or do, any thing, or things, whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expreſſed, nor any part thereof, ſhall be infringed, or broken: And if any thing ſhall be procured, or done, by any perſon, or perſons, contrary to theſe preſents, it ſhall be held of no force, or effect. The Proprietary ſolemnly confirms this charter.

"*In witneſs whereof*, I, the ſaid *William Penn*, of *Philadelphia*, in *Pennſylvania*, have unto this charter of liberties ſet my hand and broad ſeal, this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and one, being the thirteenth year of the reign of King *William the third*, over *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. and the twenty-firſt year of my government." Date.

"And, notwithſtanding the cloſure and teſt of this preſent charter, as aforeſaid, I think fit to add this following proviſo thereunto, as part of the ſame, *that is to ſay*, That, notwithſtanding any clauſe, or clauſes, in the above mentioned charter, obliging the province and territories to join together in legiſlation, I am content, and do hereby declare, that if the Repreſentatives of the province and territories ſhall not hereafter agree to join together in legiſlation, and that the ſame ſhall be ſignified to me, or my Deputy, in open Aſſembly, or otherwiſe from under the hands and ſeals of the Repreſentatives, for the time being, of the province and territories, or the major part of either Proviſo, that the province and territories may ſeparate in legiſlation, &c.

of

1701. of them, at any time, within three years from the date hereof, that, in such case, the inhabitants of each of the three counties of this province shall not have less than eight persons to represent them in Assembly, for the province; and the inhabitants of the town of *Philadelphia* (when the said town is incorporated) two persons, to represent them in Assembly; and the inhabitants of each county in the territories shall have as many persons to represent them, in a distinct Assembly, for the territories, as shall be by them, requested, as aforesaid.

To enjoy the same privileges, when separated as when connected.

"Notwithstanding which separation of the province and territories, in respect of legislation, I do hereby promise, grant and declare, that the inhabitants of both province and territories shall separately enjoy all other liberties, privileges and benefits granted jointly to them, in this charter, any law, usage, or custom of this government heretofore made and practised, or any law made and passed by the General Assembly to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

"WILLIAM PENN."

"This charter of privileges being distinctly read in Assembly, and the whole, and every part thereof, being approved of, and agreed to, by us, We do thankfully receive the same from our Proprietary and Governor at *Philadelphia*, this twenty-eighth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and one, 1701.

"*Signed on behalf, and by order, of the Assembly, per*

"JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker.*

"Edward Shippen,
"Phineas Pemberton,
"Samuel Carpenter,
"Griffith Owen,
"Caleb Pusey,
"Thomas Story,

} Proprietary and Governor's Council.

Th

1701.

The Proprietary likewiſe, by letters patent, under the great ſeal, bearing even date with this charter, eſtabliſhed a *Council of ſtate* for the province and territories, "*To conſult, and aſſiſt the Proprietary himſelf, or his Lieutenants, or Deputies, with the beſt of their advice and counſel, in public affairs and matters relating to the government, and to the peace, well-being and ſafety of the people thereof; and, in the abſence of the Proprietary, or upon the Lieutenant's death, or incapacity,* to exerciſe *all, and ſingular, the powers of government,*" &c.*

The Proprietor alſo conſtitutes a council of ſtate.

Moreover before the Proprietary left the country, he favoured the town of *Philadelphia*, then become very conſiderable, and in a flouriſhing condition,

* This inſtrument was as follows, *viz.*

"WILLIAM PENN, true and abſolute Proprietor and Governor in chief of the province of *Pennſylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging, to all, to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, ſendeth *Greeting:*

"KNOW YE, That I have nominated, appointed and ordained my truſty and well-beloved friends, *Edward Shippen*, *John Gueſt*, *Samuel Carpenter*, *William Clark*, *Thomas Story*, *Griffith Owen*, *Phineas Pemberton*, *Samuel Finney*, *Caleb Puſey* and *John Blunſton*, to be my Council of State, for the government of the ſaid province of *Pennſylvania*, and counties annexed; of whom any four ſhall be a *quorum*, to conſult and aſſiſt with the beſt of their advice and counſel, me, or my Lieutenant, or Deputy Governor, for the time being, in all public affairs and matters relating to the ſaid government, and to the peace, ſafety and well-being of the people thereof; and in the abſence of me, and of my Lieutenant, out of the ſaid province and territories; or upon my Lieutenant's deceaſe, or other incapacity, I do, by theſe preſents, give and grant to the ſaid *Edward Shippen*, &c. or any five of them, to exerciſe all, and ſingular, the powers, juriſdictions and authorities whatſoever to me and my heirs, by virtue of the Royal Charter, or letters patent, of King *Charles* the ſecond, given and granted, that are, or ſhall be neceſſary for the well-governing of the ſaid province, and territories, and for the adminiſtering, maintaining and executing of juſtice, and providing for the ſafety and well-being of the ſaid people, during ſuch abſence; they, and each of them, the ſaid *Edward Shippen*, &c. to continue in place till my further order ſhall be known.

"And I do hereby further grant to my Lieutenant Governor, for the time being, full power and authority, upon the deceaſe, or removal, of any of the ſaid Council, to nominate and appoint others to ſerve in their place and ſtead, alſo to add to the number, when, and ſo often, as my ſaid Lieutenant ſhall ſee cauſe; and in caſe he ſhall not appoint a Preſident, then the firſt named, or the next to him, ſhall, and is hereby impowered to take the chair.

"Given under my hand, &c. at *Philadelphia*, the 28th. of October, in the 13th. year of King *William*, A. D. 1701."

1701. condition, with a particular memorial of his benevolence, by granting the inhabitants thereof, likewise a charter of privileges,* for its particular regulation, good-order, government and police.

The Proprietor grants a charter to Philadelphia.

And, having conſtituted *Andrew Hamilton*, Eſq. one of the Proprietors of *Eaſt New Jerſey*, and ſome time Governor of both *Eaſt and Weſt New Jerſey*, his Deputy Governor, he ſailed for *England*; *James Logan* being, by commiſſion, appointed Secretary of the province, and Clerk of the Council of the ſame.†

Andrew Hamilton appointed Deputy Governor, and W. Penn ſails for England.

* See this charter, in the appendix No. 6. It is dated October 25th. By this charter, *Philadelphia* is conſtituted a city, bounded, incorporated and endowed with divers privileges and immunities, for the good order, regulation and government thereof, as therein deſcribed and expreſſed. *Edward Shippen* was appointed the firſt Mayor; *Thomas Story*, the Recorder, and *Thomas Farmer*, Sheriff; and the firſt town clerk, and clerk of the peace, court and courts, as appointed in this charter, was *Robert Aſhton*.—The firſt Aldermen hereby appointed, were *Joſhua Carpenter*, *Griffith Jones*, *Anthony Morris*, *Joſeph Wilcox*, *Nathan Stanbury*, *Charles Reed*, *Thomas Maſters*, and *William Carter*; who, with the Mayor and Recorder, are Juſticcs of the peace for the time being, &c.

The firſt *Common Council-men* were, *John Parſons*, *William Hudſon*, *William Lee*, *Nehemiah Allen*, *Thomas Paſchall*, *John Budd*, *junior*, *Edward Smout*, *Samuel Buckley*, *James Atkinſon*, *Penticoſt Teague*, *Francis Cook*, and *Henry Badcock*.—The Mayor is choſen annually, by at leaſt five of the Aldermen and nine of the Common Council; whoſe number is unlimited; and they are afterwards choſen, in the ſame manner, by themſelves, or by the Corporation; which conſiſts of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council-men, by the name of, "*The Mayor and Commonalty of Philadelphia*, &c."

† "*James Logan* was, by commiſſion, under the leſſer ſeal of the government, from the Proprietary *William Penn*, bearing date the 10th. of December, 1701, and by another commiſſion, under the great ſeal, dated, the 27th. of October, 1701, appointed Secretary of the province, and Clerk of the Council of the ſame."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVI.

Cauſe of the Proprietary's return removed.—King William dies, and is ſucceeded by Queen Anne.—William Penn in favour at court.—Governor Hamilton's adminiſtration and death.—Province and territories irreconcilable.—They agree to a ſeparation, in legiſlation; Edward Shippen, Preſident of the Council.—Reſolve of the Provincial Aſſembly after ſeparation.—Declaration and Teſt, ſigned by the members, &c.—John Evans arrives Deputy Governor, and endeavours to re-unite the province and territories in legiſlation, but in vain. The Governor diſpleaſed with the Aſſembly of the province.—David Lloyd.—Governor's proclamation for raiſing a militia.—He meets the Aſſembly of the territories at Newcaſtle.—The Provincial Aſſembly remonſtrate to the Proprietary.—They refuſe the Governor, &c. a copy of their remonſtrance.—Part of the Governor's ſpeech, in 1705, reſpecting the effect of this proceeding.—A very different Aſſembly elected, and more harmony ſucceeds.—Names of the members of this Aſſembly.—Thomas Chalkley's viſit to the Indians at Conneſtogo, with a memorial of him.—A ſingular act of Aſſembly in Connecticut, repealed by the crown, &c. Pennſylvania particularly affected in times of war, and ſubject to miſrepreſentations, on account of the Quakers' principles againſt war; which now exiſted between England and France and Spain.

WILLIAM PENN arrived at Portſmouth, about the middle of December. But after his return to *England*, the bill, before mentioned, for reducing the proprietary governments, into regal ones, 1701.

1701. ones, which, through the ſolicitations of his friends, had been poſtponed, the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, was entirely dropt, and no further progreſs made in that affair. Soon after this, or, on the 18th. of the Firſt-month, 1701-2, King *William* died; and the Princeſs *Anne*, of *Denmark*, ſucceeding to the throne, commenced her reign with moderation and clemency.

Cauſe of the Proprietors return to England, dropt.

King William dies & Queen Ann ſucceeds.

W. Penn in favor at Court, &c.

William Penn, being in the Queen's favour, was often at court; and for his conveniency, on that account, he took lodgings at *Kenſington;* where, at his leiſure hours, he writ ſeveral uſeful and excellent treatiſes, on divers ſubjects; for the inſtruction and benefit of poſterity; which may be ſeen in his works.

Governor Hamilton's adminiſtration and death.

Governor *Hamilton's* adminiſtration, in *Pennſylvania*, after the Proprietary's departure, continued only till the Twelfth-month in the next following year, 1702, when he died: The principal part of which was taken up in endeavouring an union between the province and territories, in legiſlation; reſpecting which the Proprietary, by his preſence and authority, had prevailed on them to a preſent compliance: For they had not yet accepted the new charter; and they had three years allowed them to ſignify their refuſal. For this purpoſe *Hamilton* laboured much with them, and uſed many arguments to induce them to unite, but without ſucceſs. Upon his death the government devolved on the Council, *Edward Shippen* being Preſident.

The Province and Territories agree to a ſeparation.

During this time of diſpute, or endeavours, for an union between the Repreſentatives of the province and territories, not much other public buſineſs of importance appears to have been tranſacted in the affairs of the government. The latter perſiſted in an abſolute refuſal to join with the former, in legiſlation, till it was finally, in the year 1703, agreed and ſettled between them, that they ſhould compoſe different and diſtinct Aſſemblies, entirely

independent on each other; pursuant to the liberty, allowed by a clause in the charter, for that purpose; which clause was said to have been there inserted by the particular and special means of the Representatives of the territories, with previous full intention of the separation, which ensued; and in this capacity they have ever acted since that time. 1701.

Assembly for the Province, &c.

The province now, by charter, also claimed a separate Representative of its own, consisting of eight members, for each of the three counties, and two, for the city of *Philadelphia;* which members, being, in October 1703, convened and duly qualified, according to law, their first *Resolution* was in the following words—

" *Resolved,*

Note. " At an Assembly begun at *Philadelphia*, in October, one thousand seven hundred and three,

" Edward Shippen, Esquire, President of the Council.

President and Council, from February, 1702-3, to February, 1703-4.

" The declaration and test, signed by the Members of this Assembly.

" WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, elected Representatives by the freemen of the respective counties, in this province of *Pennsylvania*, and the city of *Philadelphia*, in pursuance of the Proprietary's charter to serve in Assembly, do, each of us for himself, solemnly promise and declare, that we will be true and faithful to Queen *Anne* of *England*, &c. And we do solemnly promise and declare, That we, from our hearts, abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated, or deprived, by the Pope, or any other authority of the *See* of *Rome*, may be deposed or murdered, by their subjects, or any other whatsoever; And we do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within the realm of *England*, and the dominions thr unto belonging.

" And we, and each of us, do solemnly and sincerely profess, testify and declare, That we do believe, that, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of *Christ*, at, or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation, or adoration of the Virgin *Mary*, or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the *Mass*, as they are now used in the church of *Rome*, are superstitious and idolatrous.

" And we, and each of us for himself, do solemnly profess, testify and declare, That we do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto us, as they are commonly understood by *English* Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever; and without any dispensation already granted for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority whatsoever;

1701. First resolve of the Provincial Assembly.

"*Resolved*, That the Representatives, or Delegates, of the freeholders of this Province, according to the powers granted by the Proprietary and Governor, by his Charter, dated the twenty-eighth day of October, anno Domini 1701, may meet in Assembly, on the 14th. day of October yearly, at *Philadelphia*, or elsewhere, as shall be appointed by the Governor and Council, for the time being; and so continue, on their own adjournments, from time to time, during the year of their service, as they shall find occasion, or think fit, for preparing bills, debating thereon, and voting, in order to their being passed into laws; appointing committees, redressing of grievances, and impeaching of criminals, as they shall see meet, in as ample a manner, as any of the assemblies of this province and territories have hitherto, at any time done, or might legally do, as effectually, to all intents and purposes, as any of the neighbouring governments, under the crown of *England*, have power to do, according to the rights and privileges of the free-born

whatsoever; or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person, or authority whatsoever; or without thinking that we are, or can be, acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with, or annul, the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

"And we, the said subscribing Representatives, and each of us, for himself, do solemnly and sincerely profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for ever more; and we do acknowledge the holy scriptures to be given by divine inspiration.

" Nicholas Pile,	Jeremiah Langhorn,
" John Bennet,	Joshua Hoopes,
" Andrew Job,	Thomas Stevenson,
" David Lewis,	Rowland Ellis,
" Nathaniel Newlin,	Nicholas Waine,
" Joseph Baker,	Samuel Richardson,
" Robert Carter,	Isaac Norris,
" Joseph Wood,	David Lloyd, *Speaker*,
" William Biles,	Anthony Morris,
" Joseph Growdon,	Samuel Cart,
" Tobias Dymmoke,	Griffith Jones,
" Richard Hough,	Joseph Wilcox,
" William Paxton,	Charles Read.

Votes of Assembly.

born ſubjects of *England*, as near as may be, reſpecting the infancy of the government, and the capacities of the people: And that the ſaid Aſſembly, as often as the Governor, for the time being, ſhall require, attend on him, in order to legiſlation; and to anſwer all other juſt ends of aſſemblies, in any emergencies, or reaſons of ſtate; but ſhall not be ſubject, at any time, to be by him adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved." 1703.

After this, when the Preſident and Council propoſed to confer with the Aſſembly about a proper time to meet again, the latter aſſumed the power of adjourning wholly to themſelves; and upon the Preſident and Council's objecting againſt this extent of the Aſſembly's claim of *ſitting wholly* upon their own adjournments, &c. they immediately adjourned themſelves to the 1ſt. day of the Third-month next, without giving the Council any further time to confer with them about it.

The Council and Aſſembly differ about the power of adjourning.

Such was the ſtate of things when *John Evans* who was appointed Deputy Governor by the Proprietor, with the Queen's royal approbation, on the death of *Andrew Hamilton*, arrived in the province, in the Twelfth-month, 1703; who, having firſt augmented the number of the Members of Council,* in the Second-month (April) 1704, convened

1704. Arrival of Governor Evans.

Who convenes an Aſſembly of both the Province & Territories together.

* Among the names of the Members of Council, in the Twelfth-month, 1703, about the time, or ſoon after Governor Evans's arrival, appear to be,

William Penn, junior,	Griffith Owen,
Roger Mompeſſon,	Caleb Puſey,
Edward Shippen,	William Trent,
John Gueſt,	Richard Hill,
Samuel Carpenter,	Samuel Finney,
Thomas Story,	James Logan.

Alſo for the three lower counties were:—
William Clark, William Rodney, Jaſper Yeats.

Minutes of Council.

William Penn, junior, appears to have been called to the Board and made a member of Council, in the Twelfth-month 8th. 1703, and probably came from England with Governor *Evans*, &c.

1704. vened the Repreſentatives both of the province and territories, at the ſame time and place, in the Council Chamber in *Philadelphia*.

Governor *Evans*, notwithſtanding the ſteps which had been taken, and the agreement made between the province and territories, before his arrival, reſpecting their future acting in a ſeparate capacity, and independent of each other, in legiſlation, according to the proviſion made for the ſame by charter, renewed the attempt for uniting them; and his firſt ſpeech to the Repreſentatives of both places, was chiefly calculated to endeavour a *reunion;* and it conſiſted of ſuch arguments and inſinuations as appeared to him moſt cogent, and likely to bring about a coalition, ſo neceſſary for their mutual benefit.

The territories incline to unite.

To this the members of the territories, who before appeared to have principally occaſioned the diviſion, now ſeemed willing to accede, to accept the charter on conditions, and to unite with the members of the province, in legiſlation; but the latter, who had ſo long been hampered with the refractory behaviour of the former, now, in their turn, abſolutely refuſed to be connected with them; and adhered to their prior agreement for a ſeparation.*

But the province refuſes.

Which commences a diſagreement between the Governor and Aſſembly.

Thus all negociation on this head came to an end; and the Aſſembly of the province incurred the Governor's diſpleaſure, by refuſing to comply with his recommendation; which, with the diſputes, that afterwards aroſe between them, on three bills propoſed by the Aſſembly, one to confirm the great charter of privileges of the province, another to confirm that of the city of *Philadelphia*, and

* The names of the Members for the Territories were:—

" James Conts,	William Rodney,	John Hill,
" John Healy,	John Brinkloe,	William Bagwell,
" Roelof de Haes,	William Morton,	Robert Burton,
" Iſaac Gooding,	Arthur Meſton,	Richard Painter.

and a bill of property; which the Governor refuſed to paſs, without ſuch amendments as the Aſſembly would not agree to; and they being likewiſe diſguſted at ſome expreſſions of one of the council,* reſpecting their proceedings, occaſioned ſuch miſunderſtanding between the Governor and the Houſe, that, in conſequence thereof, but little of moment appears to have been tranſacted, in the public affairs of the government, during the ſittings of this, and the next ſucceeding Aſſembly; at the head of both which appeared *David Lloyd*,* as Speaker. 1704.

* J. Gueſt.

D. Lloyd, Speaker, &c.

In the latter part of the year 1704, Governor Evans met the Aſſembly of the lower counties, at *Newcaſtle*; which was the firſt Aſſembly, that had acted there in legiſlation, independent of the province, after the Proprietary's departure, prior to which he publiſhed a proclamation, to raiſe a militia, among ſuch, whoſe religious perſwaſion was not againſt bearing of arms; it being in the time of the war between *England*, and *France* and *Spain*.† But

Gov. Evans meets the firſt Aſſembly at Newcaſtle, &c.

He publiſhes a proclamation, &c.

* David Lloyd was, many years, Speaker of the Aſſembly; and in the time of Thomas Lloyd, appears to have been Clerk of the Council. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by giving conſtant oppoſition to what was afterwards called the Proprietary intereſt. He had been brought up to the law; and was one of the principal antagoniſts of the Governors *Evans* and *Gookin*; he is repreſented to have been one of the chief inſtruments in ſeparating the province of *Pennſylvania* from the lower counties, ſo as to compoſe Aſſemblies independent on each other.—He came from *England*, in, or about, the year 1686; and was commiſſioned Attorney General by *William Penn*, in Second-month, 24th. that year. He was a perſon afterwards much eſteemed among his friends the *Quakers* and others; being generally accounted a man of integrity, and conſiderable abilities, both in his civil and religious capacity: but his political talents ſeem to have been more for dividing than uniting different intereſts. He died at *Cheſter*, where he had lived, in the beginning of Auguſt, 1731, when he was Chief Juſtice of *Pennſylvania*.

† This proclamation was as follows, *viz.*

" By the honourable Lieutenant Governor of the province of Pennſylvania, and territories thereunto belonging;

" FORASMUCH as the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, and the reſt of her Majeſty's allies, are now engaged in a vigorous war againſt *France* and *Spain*, for maintaining and preſerving the liberty and balance of *Europe*; which, as it engages the ſubjects of the ſaid crowns and ſtates in open hoſtilities, ſo it lays her Majeſty's ſubjects, in this government, under

1704. But, from what had already paſſed between the Governor, and the Aſſembly of the province, the latter fell into ſuch an ill humour, that in the Sixth-month, 1704, they privately drew up a repreſentation, or remonſtrance, in a letter to the Proprietary; which was ſaid to be filled with complaints, highly reflecting, even, on the Proprietary himſelf, as well as the Deputy Governor, *Evans*, and the Secretary, *James Logan*.

The Aſſembly complain to the Proprietor againſt Governor Evans, &c.

They refuſe the Governor a copy of what they writ, &c.

Some time after, when the Governor heard of this, he, by a written meſſage to the Houſe, required a copy of it; which was likewiſe done by a formal petition from ſeven perſons; who were all, either of the Governor's Council, or otherwiſe of the principal inhabitants, and *Quakers*, viz. *Edward Shippen*, *Thomas Story*, *Richard Hill*, *William Hudſon*, *Pentecoſt Teague*, *Thomas Chalkley*, and *William Southby*; theſe, with many others, conſidering the preſent ill humour of the Aſſembly, thought themſelves highly intereſted in the nature of ſuch a proceeding; but they were all peremtorily refuſed by the Aſſembly.

What

under a neceſſity of being well armed and diciplined, as well for the honour and ſervice of her Majeſty, as for the defence and preſervation of our religion, lives and liberties; all which her Majeſty having duly weighed and conſidered, was graciouſly pleaſed to command, that due preparation, ſhould be made, in this government, for the defence and ſecurity of the ſame, againſt any attempts, that might be made upon it by the enemy, during this time of *war*: Therefore, in obedience to her Majeſty's royal command, and to the end that the inhabitants of this government may be in a poſture of defence and readineſs, to withſtand and repel all acts of hoſtility, that the enemy ſhall attempt againſt them, I do hereby ſtrictly command and require all perſons reſiding in this government, whoſe perſwaſion will, on any account, permit them to take up arms, in their own defence, that forthwith they do provide themſelves with a good firelock and ammunition, in order to enliſt themſelves in the *Militia*, which I am now ſettling in this government; and every inhabitant thereof is, without delay, to repair and enliſt themſelves with the officer, or officers, commiſſioned to command in that diſtrict, where ſuch inhabitant dwells. And I do further command all perſons, that they take due notice hereof, and give obedience, and be to their utmoſt, aiding and aſſiſting to the ſaid officers, in all things relating to the exerciſing the power given them, in their commiſſions, as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril.

"Given under my hand and great ſeal, at *Philadelphia*, the 25th. of May, in the third year of the reign of our ſovereign Lady, *Anne*, over *England*, &c. annoque Domini, 1704.

"J. E."

What effect which theſe proceedings had with the Proprietary in *England*, may, in part, appear from the Governor's ſpeech to the Aſſembly, in the forepart of the year 1705, in which, among other things, he thus expreſſes himſelf, reſpecting the Proprietary's ſentiments on the cauſes of his differing with the Aſſembly, and of their letter to the Proprietary, viz. 1704.

"The Proprietary, Gentlemen, is ſo far from agreeing with your opinion, in theſe matters, that he is greatly ſurpriſed to ſee, inſtead of ſuitable ſupplies, for the maintenance of government, and defraying public charges, for the public ſafety, time only loſt (while his conſtant expences run on) in diſputes upon heads, which he had as fully ſettled before his departure, as could, on the beſt precautions, be thought convenient, or reaſonable, even, at a time, when he was leaving you in doubt whether it would be poſſible to divert the bill, then moving in Parliament, for annexing all theſe governments to the crown; which being now diverted, and himſelf ſecure in the poſſeſſion of his right, ſo long as his circumſtances ſhall render the adminiſtration of it practicable, he is the more aſtoniſhed to find you, for whoſe ſakes chiefly, and not his own, he has undergone the late fatigues, and expenſive troubles, in maintaining it, expreſs no greater ſenſe of gratitude, than has hitherto appeared. 1705. Part of the Governor's ſpeech to the Aſſembly, &c

"The Proprietary alſo further aſſures us, that had thoſe three bills (of which copies were ſent home) been paſſed into acts here, they would certainly have been vacated by her Majeſty, being looked on by men of ſkill, to whom they have been ſhewn, as very great abſurdities; but, what I muſt not be ſilent in is, that he highly reſents that heinous indignity, and moſt ſcandalous treatment he has met with, in a letter, directed not only to himſelf, but alſo to be ſhewn to ſome other perſons, diſaffected

1705. disaffected to him, in the name of the Assembly and people of this province, of which I have formerly demanded a copy, but was then denied it, under pretence (when it was too late) that it should be recalled: If that letter was the act of the people truly represented, he thinks such proceedings are sufficient to cancel all obligations of care over them; but if done by particular persons only, and 'tis an imposture in the name of the whole, he expects the country will purge themselves, and take care that due satisfaction be given him.—

Part of the Governor's speech, &c.

—"The Proprietary (who, it is well known, has hitherto supported this government) upon such treatment, as he has met with, is frequently solicited to resign and throw up all, without any further care; but his tenderness to those in the place, whom he knows to be still true and honest, prevails with him to give the people yet an opportunity of shewing what they will do, before all be brought to a closing period.

"Methods have been taken to provoke him to this, that there might be the greater shew of blame for it, when done, though it could not be avoided; but assure yourselves, that he will be justified by all reasonable men, for withdrawing the exercise of his care over those, that being so often invited to it, take so little of themselves," &c.

A different Assembly chosen, &c.

The nature and consequence of these disputes appear to have caused a considerable change in the choice of the members of the next elected Assembly, in October 1705; of which *Joseph Growdon* was Speaker.*

Better understanding between the Governor and Assembly.

This Assembly acted so very different from the two last preceding, as to produce a much better understanding between them and the Governor, in

* The Names of the Members of this Assembly, which, in general, appears to have been composed of some of the most respectable persons in the province, were, for the county of

Philadelphia.

in consequence of which a great number of laws were passed, and the public affairs of the government, for a time, bore a more favorable and promising aspect. 1705.

In this year 1705, *Thomas Chalkley*, one of the seven persons before mentioned, who petitioned the Assembly of the last year, 1704, a preacher among the *Quakers*, paid a religious visit to the *Indians*, at *Conestogo*, near the river *Susquahanna*, in *Pennsylvania*, in company with some of his friends, of the same religious society.* The *Indians*, who consisted chiefly of *Senecas* and *Shawanese*, received them with great kindness: they were much affected by their visit, more especially a certain woman of eminence among them, who appeared to have authority, and spoke much in their Councils; the reason for which was, when the *Indians* were asked, one of them replied, "Because some women are wiser than

Thomas Chalkley visits the Indians at Conestogo, &c.

Queen Ojuncho.

Philadelphia.	*Bucks.*	*Chester.*
Isaac Norris,	Joseph Growdon, *Speaker.*	Robert Pile,
Richard Hill,	John Swift,	Richard Webb,
Rowland Ellis,	Jeremiah Langhorn,	Caleb Pusey,
Reese Thomas,	Joshua Hoopes,	Nicholas Fairlamb,
Samuel Cart,	Tobias Dymock,	John Bennit,
John Goodson,	Henry Paxton,	Isaac Taylor,
William Carter,	Samuel Carpenter,	Nathaniel Newlin,
John Cook.	William Paxton.	Joseph Coeburn.

City of Philadelphia,—David Lloyd and Edward Shippen, senior.

* *Thomas Chalkley*, with his wife and family, removed from *England*, in the year 1701, into *Pennsylvania*; where he settled and resided, during the remainder of his life; which was upwards of forty years; excepting that part of it, in which the necessary affairs of trade and business took him abroad, in a sea-faring way, &c. but more especially in the discharge of what he believed to be his duty, as a minister of the gospel; which, it is left on record, was his principal and most delightful employment: This he is said to have performed through many deep trials and exercises, various ways, in different parts of the world, with good success.

He was a person much beloved and highly esteemed by a very numerous acquaintance; in that he had many virtues, and these of the more amiable kind: he is said to have been of a meek and quiet spirit, and to have had an engaging sweetness, both in his ministry and conversation. He died in the island of *Tortola*, in America, in the year 1741, when on a religious visit there, in the service of preaching the gospel.—Though he had not the advantage of what is called a literary education, or of much learning, yet he left behind him some printed works on religious subjects, and a journal of his life, (from which the above account is extracted) written in a plain and simple, yet very easy and engaging stile; which were an acceptable legacy to many lovers of his memory.

1705. than ſome men, and that ſhe was an Empreſs among them;"—She told *Thomas Chalkley*, and the other friends, that ſhe looked upon their coming to be more than natural; becauſe they did not come to buy nor ſell, nor yet gain, but in love and reſpect to them, and deſired their welfare both here and hereafter.—She related to them a dream, which ſhe had three days before; which, being interpreted was, "That ſhe was in *London*, and that *London* was the fineſt place ſhe ever ſaw, (it was like *Philadelphia*, but much larger) and ſhe went acroſs ſix ſtreets, and in the ſeventh ſhe ſaw *William Penn* preaching to the people; which was a great multitude; and both ſhe and *William Penn* rejoiced to ſee each other, after the meeting ſhe went to him, and he told her, that in a little time, he would come over and preach to them alſo; of which ſhe was very glad: and now, ſhe ſaid, her dream was fulfilled; for one of his friends was come to preach to them." And ſhe adviſed the *Indians* to hear and treat the friends kindly; which they accordingly did.—

Queen Ojuncho.

This one inſtance, among many, which might be given, is here mentioned, to ſhew the love and regard, theſe people had for the memory of *William Penn;* as the conſequence of his juſt and kind treatment of them; and the ſenſe which they had of his regard for their real good, and true happineſs.

England was now at war with *France* and *Spain;* in conſequence of which no part of the Britiſh dominions could be entirely exempt from danger. In all times of war *Pennſylvania* is ſaid to have been expoſed more or leſs to difficulties, on account of the *Quakers*, who were the moſt important and conſiderable part of the inhabitants, being principled againſt war of every kind: but then, in conſequence of their pacific conduct, it was manifeſt, more happy effects were produced, in proportion,

England at war with France and Spain, produces difficulty in Pennſylvania.

as

as the arts of peace, in a ſober and induſtrious people, are preferable to thoſe of war; though they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, as well by the internal as by the external enemies of the conſtitution of the province; and that both through ignorance and deſign. 1705.

[59] For

Note. About this time (anno 1705) the *Quakers* in *America* ſeem to have had reaſon to be alarmed by a ſingular act of Aſſembly, paſſed in the colony of *Connecticut*, entitled only, *Hereticks:* The ſubſtance or purport of it appears, by the order of Queen *Anne*, in Council, made upon that occaſion, as follows, *viz.*

"At the Court of *Kenſington*, the 11th. day of October, 1705.

Preſent:—

His Royal Highneſs, Prince George of Denmark,
Lord Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury,
Lord Keeper,
Lord Treaſurer,
Lord Preſident,
Duke of Somerſet,
Duke of Ormond,
Earl of Ranelaugh,
Mr. Boyle,
Mr. Secretary Hedges,
Mr. Secretary Harley,
Lord Chief Juſtice Holt,
Lord Chief Juſtice Trevor,
Mr. Vernon,
Mr. Earle.

"A Repreſentation, from the Lords Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, being this day read at the board, upon an act, paſſed in her Majeſty's colony of Connecticut, entitled only, *Hereticks*, whereby it is enacted, that all, who ſhall entertain any *Quakers*, *Ranters*, *Adamites*, and other *Hereticks*, are made liable to the penalty of five pounds, and five pounds per week for every town, that ſhall ſo entertain them; that all *Quakers* ſhall be committed to priſon, or be ſent out of the colony; that whoever ſhall hold unneceſſary diſcourſe with *Quakers* ſhall forfeit twenty ſhillings; that whoever ſhall keep any *Quakers'* books, the Governor, Magiſtrates and Elders excepted, ſhall forfeit ten ſhillings; and that all ſuch books be ſuppreſſed; that no maſter of any veſſel do land any *Quakers*, without carrying them away again, under the penalty of twenty pounds.

"And the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners, humbly offering that the ſaid act be repealed by her Majeſty; it being contrary to the liberty of conſcience indulged to diſſenters by the laws of *England*, as alſo to the charter granted to that colony.

"Her Majeſty, with the advice of her Privy Council, is pleaſed to declare her diſallowance and diſapprobation of the ſaid act; and purſuant to her Majeſty's royal pleaſure thereupon, the ſaid act, paſſed in her Majeſty's colony of *Connecticut*, in *New England*, entitled, *Hereticks*, is hereby repealed, and declared null and void, and of no effect.

In gratitude for this order, the *Quakers*, in *London*, addreſſed the Queen, in the following manner, *viz.*

"*May it pleaſe the Queen,*

"WE, thy proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects, commonly called *Quakers*, in *London*, having lately been the Queen's humble petitioners, on behalf of our friends, in *New England*, againſt a law, made in *Connecticut*, for

their

1705. For, though the fidelity of the *Quakers* to the King and Government, their punctuality in paying their taxes, and their conſcientiouſly and ſtrictly declining all illicit trade, or defrauding of the royal revenue, in any reſpect, have, in all parts of the *Britiſh* dominions, never been exceeded by any others; which, in an induſtrious people, are things of very great importance and utility, to any government; yet, in this province, by reaſon of their not perſonally themſelves complying in military preparations, nor joining in actual ſervice of that nature, or immediately employing others, as ſubſtitutes, therein, though they never attempted to lay any reſtraint upon other people, who were among them, reſpecting theſe affairs, conſiſtent with the law of nations, and ſelf defence, or agreeable to the limitations of the royal charter, they have, nevertheleſs, frequently laboured under very unjuſt imputations, and the charge of wrong conſequences, formed by the falſe reaſoning of their enemies, in this reſpect.

The Quakers punctual in paying taxes to the government.

But the conſequences of their principles ſometimes miſrepreſented, &c.

their ſuppreſſion, which law, the Queen has been graciouſly pleaſed to diſallow, and make void, now find ourſelves engaged, in duty and gratitude, to make the juſt returns of our thankful acknowledgments to the Queen, for this eminent inſtance of inviolably maintaining the toleration; and do, therefore, humbly crave leave, on this occaſion, to repeat the ſincere aſſurance of our Chriſtian and peaceable ſubjection, and unfeigned joy, for the Queen's mild and gentle government, aiming at the good of all her people.

"May the bleſſing of the Almighty ſo proſper and accompliſh the Queen's juſt deſires of union among her ſubjects, of firm peace in *Europe*, and of the increaſe of virtue, that, in the delightful fruition thereof, the Queen may enjoy many days, and after a life of comfort, be tranſlated to a glorious immortality.

"Signed on behalf of the ſaid people, by

"JOHN FEILD.
"JOSEPH WYETH."

The Queen's anſwer.

"Let the gentlemen know, I thank them heartily for this addreſs; and that, while they continue ſo good ſubjects, they need not doubt of my protection."

Note. The winter of the year 1705, was remarkable, in *Pennſylvania* for a great ſnow, in general, about one yard deep.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVII.

Governor Evans's diſpoſition and conduct.—His treatment of the Quakers' principles on war.—Falſe alarm at Philadelphia.—Fort and exactions at Newcaſtle.—Richard Hill.—Iſaac Norris.—Samuel Preſton, &c.—Aſſembly's addreſs to the Governor, &c.—Further proceeding and diſpute between the Governor and Aſſembly.—Aſſembly diſpleaſed with the Secretary James Logan.—Memorial of James Logan.—The Aſſembly impeach the Secretary.—Heads of an angry remonſtrance to the Proprietor againſt the Governor and Secretary, &c.—Theſe diſputes continue till the arrival of Governor Gookin, in the beginning of 1709.—Names of the Members of Aſſembly and Council, &c.—Difficulties of the Proprietor about this time.—

GOVERNOR EVANS appears to have been an active young man, of a temper ſcarcely indifferent to any thing, zealous to promote what he thought the ſervice and intereſt of the Proprietary required, but not ſufficiently ſtudying the genius and diſpoſition of the people, over whom he preſided. His warm zeal to puſh his own views, in ſome things, contrary to thoſe of the Aſſembly, tended to produce ſuch extreme oppoſition and diſlike between them, as were ſcarcely warrantable, and might have had fatal effects; the natural conſequence of men's tempers being too much agitated and inflamed; beſides the liberties of his private life and conduct are repreſented to have been ſuch as rendered him offenſive to a ſober and religious people. He was

1705.

Gov. Evans did not attend ſufficiently to the diſpoſition of the people, &c.

1705. was moreover ſaid to want neither ingenuity nor abilities, ſo much as a proper application of them; for which years and experience are ſo generally requiſite. But his diſappointment, on his firſt arrival, in not being able to prevail on the Aſſembly of the province to admit of a re-union with that of the territories, which he had ſo much ſet his mind upon, with the nature of certain following proceedings of the former, appear to have occaſioned his imprudently joining with the Aſſembly of the latter, in ſome acts, which ſeemed more calculated to incommode the province, than for any real utility to either; from which kind of conduct it could not be reaſonably ſuppoſed any good underſtanding could ariſe, or be long cheriſhed, between them.

He joins with the Aſſembly of the territories to incommode the Province.

The Governor had endeavoured to form a militia through the government, but ſo far as appears, and which could not be reaſonably expected otherwiſe, not with much ſucceſs. He knew the *Quakers'* principles were againſt bearing arms and war, yet, as the inexperience and aſſuming of youth, as well as the prejudice of more advanced years, is ſometimes ready to regard a contrariety of ſentiment, in others, more eſpecially if it differ much from the common opinion, in the higheſt point of abſurdity, without duly examining into the merits of it; ſo Governor *Evans*, by part of his conduct, appears to have regarded and treated the principles of the *Quakers*, in reſpect to *ſelf defence*, as a mere notion, which would never endure a ſerious trial; and by the following imprudent ſcheme and experiment, inſtead of anſwering any uſeful intention to the public, he is ſaid not only to have alienated the *Quakers* further from him, but alſo highly diſguſted ſuch of the people in general, as were not concerned in the contrivance, or execution of it.

He treats the Quakers principles againſt war, as abſurd.

Governor *Evans*, in conjunction with *Robert French* of *Newcaſtle*, *Thomas Clark*, an attorney at law,

law, of *Philadelphia*, and ſome others of his aſſociates, it is ſaid, for their diverſion, and to try the diſpoſition of the people, but moſt probably that of the *Quakers* chiefly, concerted a ſcheme to raiſe and carry on a *falſe alarm*, in order moſt effectually to terrify the inhabitants by a ſudden ſurprize, and thereby oblige them to have recourſe to arms, for their defence. 1706. Account of the falſe alarm, &c.

It was at the time of the fair in *Philadelphia*, on the 16th. day of the Third-month, O. S. 1706, when this plot was put in execution; *French* acted at *Newcaſtle*, by ſending up a meſſenger to the governor, at *Philadelphia*, in the greateſt haſte, and apparent conſternation, to acquaint him, that a number of veſſels were then actually in the river, and as high up as a place, which he named. Upon this news immediately the Governor acted his part; and, by his emiſſaries, made it fly through the city; while himſelf with a drawn ſword in his hand, on horſeback, rode through the ſtreets, in ſeeming great commotion, and a behaviour adapted to the nature of the occaſion, commanded and entreated people of all ranks to be properly aſſiſting on the emergency, &c.*

The ſtratagem, in part ſucceeded; and the ſuddenneſs of the ſurpriſe, with the noiſe of precipitation

* There were two noted *falſe alarms* formerly, in the province. The former was that of the *Indians*, in 1688. The latter was this, in Governor Evans's time; to one of which *Thomas Makin*, before mentioned in the notes, page 211; ſeems to allude, in the following lines, *viz.*

" Sed ſemel hic rumor mendax clamavit ad arma,
" Incola cui nimium credulus omnis erat.
" Hæc male-ſana die fuit acta tragædia quadam,
" Cum convenerunt undique turba frequens;
" Scilicet ut major fieret commotus in urbe,
" Notior et mutis rumor ubique foret,
" Uſque adeo fuit hac confuſus in urbe tumultus,
" Ut neque tuncleges, ordo nec ullus erat.
" Hic removere ſua inſtanti properabat ab hoſte,
" Ille nihil contra juſſit ab urbe vehi;
" Sed quodcunque ſibi volvit dementia talis,
" Hæc damno multis eſt memoranda dies:
" Veſpere ſed tandem fuit hoc ſtratagema detectum,
" Fabula tunc iſtam finiit acta diem."

But

1706. tation, conſequent thereon, threw many of the people into very great fright and conſternation, inſomuch that it is ſaid, ſome threw their plate and moſt valuable effects down their wells and little-houſes; that others hid themſelves, in the beſt manner they could, while many retired further up the river, with what they could moſt readily carry off; ſo that ſome of the creeks ſeemed full of boats, and ſmall craft; thoſe of a larger ſize running as far as *Burlington*, and ſome higher up the river;—Several women are ſaid to have miſcarried by the fright and terror, into which they were thrown, and much miſchief enſued.*

Account of the falſe alarm, &c.

But the deſign, it is ſaid, was ſuſpected, or underſtood, by the more conſiderate part of the people, even at the beginning; and endeavours accordingly were uſed, to prevent its taking effect; but the conduct and artifice of the Governor, with the help of his numerous aſſiſtants, and the eaſy credulity, common to the more inconſiderate part of mankind, very much fruſtrated theſe endeavours, till the firſt tranſport of amazement had ſubſided.

James Logan, the Secretary, though he was one of the people called *Quakers*, was accuſed or ſuſpected, of being privy to the affair. He denied the charge;

But once to arms *falſe rumor* called here;
To which the people commonly give ear.
'Twas on a certain day the plot began,
Deluded crowds together madly ran:
By artful means the ſtratagem was laid,
And great commotions through the city made;
So wild the tumult, and ſo great the fear,
No law nor order was obſerved there:
While from th' approaching foes to haſte away,
One urg'd, another orders gave to ſtay.
This ſtrange affair, whatever was deſign'd,
For loſs to many, will be kept in mind.
The ev'ning did the plot's deſign betray;
The farce was ended with the cloſing day.

* It was obſerved, that, in an *Almanac* publiſhed this year, in *Philadelphia*, was inſerted the following diſtich, oppoſite to this very time, *viz.*

"Wiſe men wonder, good men grieve,
Knaves invent, and fools believe."

charge; but endeavoured to palliate the action, and excuſe the Governor; which rendered him the more ſuſpected. The deſign, though it had ſuch a conſiderable effect, turned out entirely contrary to the expectation of the authors and promoters of it; for the people were ſoon undeceived; and when they ſaw how groſsly they had been impoſed upon, many of them ſo highly reſented the uſage, that the authors and promoters thereof were now obliged to conſult their own ſafety from the fury of an enraged populace. 1706. Account of the falſe alarm, &c.

As to the *Quakers*, it is ſaid the principal part of them were attending their religious meeting as uſual, on that day of the week, even in the midſt of the confuſion; and, as if they were aware of the deſign, in general, behaved themſelves ſo far conſiſtently, that only four perſons, who had any pretence to be accounted of that ſociety, appeared under arms, at the place of rendezvous, appointed on the occaſion.

With this action, whereby the Governor rendered himſelf odious to the generality of the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, may be mentioned the following; by which he incurred, in a particular manner, the diſpleaſure of the trading part of the province.

Soon after the Aſſembly of the territories had met in legiſlation, independent of the province, Governor *Evans* propoſed to them the building a fort at *Newcaſtle;* upon which a law was paſſed there, entitled, "*An act for erecting and maintaining a fort, for her Majeſty's ſervice, at the town of Newcaſtle upon Delaware.*" This law impoſed a duty of half a pound of *Gun-powder*, for every ton, that all veſſels whatever, coming from the ſea up the river, ſhould meaſure by the carpenters rule, whoſe major part was not owned by perſons reſiding on the river and bay of *Delaware;* (except ſhips of war) and by it all veſſels, both inward and outward, were obliged to ſtop, drop anchor, and the Of the fort and exactions at Newcaſtle, &c.

1706. the commander to go on ſhore, make report, and have leave to paſs, from the commanding officer of the ſaid fort, under penalty of paying five pounds, beſides twenty ſhillings for the firſt gun, thirty for the ſecond, and forty for every gun afterwards, that ſhould be fired on the occaſion, in caſe of neglect, beſides the forfeiture of five pounds, for contempt, &c.

Of the fort and exactions at Newcaſtle, &c.

This law was conſidered as a manifeſt infraction of the privileges granted by the royal charter to the ſettlers and inhabitants of *Pennſylvania;* and ſtill more ſo, from the manner in which it was put in execution; for they had legally an undoubted right to the free uſe of the river and bay, without any interruption, obſtruction or impoſition from any quarter whatever; and the violent means which conſequently became neceſſary to enforce a law upon ſuch a defective foundation, and not even countenanced by the law itſelf, ſoon became a great nuiſance, and an intolerable grievance to the trading part of *Pennſylvania*, and others concerned in its commerce.—Beſides, it was alledged, that the fort itſelf, as it was ſituated and circumſtanced, had it been under better management and more warrantable direction, could not poſſibly be much ſecurity to the river, nor protection to the veſſels that might happen to be chaſed, or aſſaulted in it.

The city of *Philadelphia* was much concerned at theſe proceedings, and the trading part thereof were highly incenſed at this invaſion of their juſt liberties; accordingly endeavours were uſed to have the affair properly redreſſed, but without ſucceſs.

At length *Richard Hill*, one of the Governor's Council, a bold man, and of conſiderable abilities and influence in the province, together with *Iſaac Norris* and *Samuel Preſton*, all *Quakers*, and men of the firſt rank and eſteem, was determined to try to

to remove this nuisance, by a different method from any that had been yet attempted.* 1706.

[60] *Hill*

* These three persons being men of considerable note and eminence, either at this time, or afterwards, in the province, a short sketch of their character, as I find it in M. S. here follows, *viz.*

Richard Hill was born in *Maryland*, brought up to the sea, and afterwards settled in *Philadelphia*, having there married the widow of *John Delaval*, *Hannah*, the eldest daughter of the late Governor *Lloyd*, a woman of an excellent character, and very much esteemed and beloved.—He was twenty-five years a member of the Governor's Council, divers times Speaker of the Assembly, held several offices of trust, was, for several years, first Commissioner of property, and, during the last ten years of his life, he was one of the Provincial Judges.

His services, in the religious society of his friends, the *Quakers*, of which he was, for many years, an active member, are said likewise to have been very considerable. He had by nature and acquisition such a constant firmness, as furnished him with undaunted resolution, to execute whatever he undertook. His sound judgment, his great esteem for the *English* constitution and laws, his tenderness for the liberty of the subject, and his zeal for preserving the reputable order established in his own religious community, with his great generosity to proper objects, qualified him for the greatest services, in every station in which he was engaged, and rendered him of very great and uncommon value, in the place where he lived. He died in *Philadelphia*, on the 9th. of September, 1729.

Isaac Norris, of *Philadelphia*, held many public offices, with great reputation and honour; and his services, in the affairs of his own religious community, entitled him to very high and uncommon esteem among his friends the *Quakers*; in which he was a principal person in good offices. He is said to have been endowed with good natural abilities; which he improved and applied to the benefit of mankind, as a man truly sensible that one of the chief ends of man's existence is to be useful and beneficent to the human race; which he shewed by his uniform conduct; and that to answer this end men are to be taken as they are, and their lesser failings to be endured, where they cannot be amended; the utility of his great talents was manifested by a prudent and consistent conduct, in which he so much the more effectually succeeded and excelled, and that agreeable to duty and a good conscience, by constantly cherishing a temper and disposition of mind, which overlooks or passes by the many dislikes, deficiencies and ungrateful things, in others, which are so commonly incident to mankind; so that, by preserving through life, a christian moderation, and an even hand, he was, on all occasions, qualified to use and exert his abilities to more advantage: His example in this was noble and conspicuous, and his character, in most respects, so honourable among men, in general, and his conduct so universally beneficial, especially to those of his own religious community, that he was an ornament to his country and profession, and his death a great loss to both; which was in the year 1735, when he was Chief Justice of *Pennsylvania*.

Samuel Preston, likewise of *Philadelphia*, was, for a long time, one of the Governor's Council, and Treasurer of the province of *Pennsylvania*; which offices he discharged with much honor and fidelity. He was a man of great integrity to what he believed was his duty; his conduct in life, very instructive, and his practice a continual series of good offices. He was a person of such remarkable benevolence, and open disposition

1706. Account of the fort and exactions at Newcaſtle, &c.

Hill had a veſſel, named the *Philadelphia;* then loaded and juſt going out, to ſea; but doubting of his captain's reſolution to paſs the fort, without ſubmitting to the impoſition, he, in company with the other two, went in the veſſel down the river, and dropt anchor a little before they came to the fort; Norris and Preſton went on ſhore, to inform the officers, at the fort, that the veſſel was regularly cleared; and to uſe ſuch perſwaſion, as they were capable of, that ſhe might paſs without interruption, &c. but to no purpoſe: *Hill*, therefore, taking command of the ſloop, ſtood to the helm, and paſſed the fort, without receiving any damage, though the firing was kept up till he was clear; and the guns were pointed in ſuch a direction, that a ſhot went through the *mainſail.* As ſoon as the ſloop was got clear of the fort, *John French*, the commander of it, put off in a boat, manned and armed, in order to bring her to, in that manner; when he came along ſide, *Hill* ordered a rope to be thrown him, upon which they faſtened the boat, and *French* went on board; the rope was then immediately cut, and the boat falling a ſtern, *French* was conducted a priſoner to the cabin;—who, now ſeeing his ſituation, pleaded his indiſpoſition of body: upon which *Hill* aſked him, "*If that was really the caſe, why did he come there?*—Lord *Cornbury*,

poſition of mind, as rendered advice and reproof, from him, the more acceptable and ſerviceable; and being of a fair and clean character, good judgment, and ſuitable preſence of mind, his uſefulneſs, in that capacity was the more extenſive and ſucceſsful. He was a very valuable member of ſociety, among his friends, the *Quakers*, undertaking and performing many difficult offices, and ſocial duties therein, with great chearfulneſs, alacrity and utility; and was highly eſteemed by them, as an elder, who ruled well in his ſocial capacity, and was worthy of double honor.—He died in September, 1743, aged about eighty years.

The worth of wiſe and virtuous men is ineſtimable, and their loſs to the community, not eaſily repaired. It is to be regretted, that frequently their great value and importance are not ſufficiently ſeen, or underſtood and attended to, till after we are deprived of them, and can no longer be benefited by their preſence and ſociety, &c.

——"Virtutem incolumem odimus;
Sublatam ex oculis, querimus, invidi."

HORAT

Cornbury, Governor of *New-Jersey*, and as such claiming to be *Vice Admiral* of the river *Delaware*, happened, at that time, to be at *Salem*, a little lower down, on the *Jersey* side of the river; to him the prisoner was brought, to give an account of his conduct. In this place, after *Freneh*, in a coarse manner, had been sufficiently reprimanded by Lord Cornbury, upon a suitable submission and promises made, he was at length dismissed, but not without marks of derision from some of the attendants. 1706.

Account of the fort and exactions at Newcastle, &c.

This put a finishing stroke to these proceedings at the fort of *Newcastle;* and thus ended the enterprize; in which *Hill's* friends, especially his anxious wife, a person of note and high esteem, who, at *Philadelphia*, heard the report of the guns, could not but be particularly concerned, fearing lest his resolution should be attended with bad consequences: but they were soon agreeably relieved from their apprehensions of that kind; and his conduct in this affair, made an open way for others.

But *Richard Hill* did not suffer the affair to rest here; for, accompanied by a large number of the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, he attended the General Assembly; and, by petition, in such manner, laid the affair before them, that it produced an address to the Governor, from the House, without so much as one dissenting vote, dated the 10th. of May, 1707, highly resenting these proceedings, on the river *Delaware*, and at Newcastle, which I do not find were afterwards continued.*

The

* This address was as follows, *viz.*

"To *John Evans*, Esquire, by the Queen's royal approbation, Lieutenant Governor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and of the three lower counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, on *Delaware* river.

"The humble *Address* of the Representatives of the freemen of the said province, in General Assembly met, the 10th. day of the month called May, 1707, sheweth,

"THAT a petition of above two hundred and twenty of the merchants and other inhabitants of the said province, but mostly of the city of *Philadelphia*, having been presented to this House, complaining of very

1706. Of the bill of Courts, &c.

The act of Aſſembly, for eſtabliſhing courts of judicature, in the province, in the year 1701, having been repealed by the crown, the Governor, in order to ſupply the intention of that act, for the regulation of courts, recommended to the conſideration

great abuſes and oppreſſions, which ſome of the inhabitants of the county of *Newcaſtle* have committed upon ſeveral of theſe petitioners, by colour of a certain ordinance, or act of Aſſembly, lately paſſed there by the ſaid Lieutenant Governor, and Repreſentatives of the freemen of the ſaid three lower counties, entitled, "*An act for erecting and maintaining a fort for her Majeſty's ſervice, at the town of Newcaſtle upon Delaware;*" which act, as alſo the ſeveral affidavits, relating to the matter complained of, being read, we thought proper, in the firſt place, to conſider the royal charter of the late King Charles the ſecond, to the Proprietary, bearing date the fourth day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of his reign, whereby the free and undiſturbed uſe and continuance in, and paſſage unto, and out of all the ports, harbours, bays, waters, rivers, iſles and inlents, belonging unto, or leading to, or from this country, with the other powers and liberties, mentioned in the ſaid petition, are granted to the Proprietary and inhabitants of this province, as the petitioners ſet forth; and we further obſerve, that by the ſaid charter, the Queen's liege people of this province are to be ſubject to no laws, but ſuch as are conſonant to reaſon, and as near as may be, agreeable to the laws, ſtatutes and rights of the kingdom of England.

"In the next place we have inſpected the late Duke of *York's* deeds of feoffment to the Proprietary, for the ſaid three lower counties, as alſo the late King *Charles* the ſecond's grant to the Duke, for the ſame lands; and when we call to mind how the Repreſentatives of the lower counties broke off, and refuſed to proceed legiſlatively, in conjunction with the Repreſentatives of the province, under the Proprietary's adminiſtration; but how far they can be juſtified in making laws to raiſe money on the Queen's ſubjects in this government, we intend ſhall be further conſidered hereafter; in the mean time we ſhall inſiſt that the liberty of the free uſe, and paſſage to, and out of, the ports of this province, granted us by the above recited royal charter, is well warranted by the laws of *England;* and that no impoſition can, by any act, or ordinance, made at *Newcaſtle*, be laid upon any veſſel, bound to, or from, any port in this province, which doth not unload at ſome key, or place, within the ſaid lower counties; and we conceive, that upon a ſtrict examination of their ſaid act of Aſſembly, it will moſt evidently appear, that the veſſels not bound to, or out of, ſome port or place there, cannot legally be obliged to comply with the impoſitions of the ſaid act.

"Therefore this houſe, having fully and maturely weighed the nature of the ſaid act, and the uſe that is, and has been made of it, found themſelves obliged, in duty to the Queen, and juſtice to the people they repreſent, to come to the following reſolutions, N. C. D.

"*Firſt*, That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that the ſaid act of Aſſembly might be by the Governor, intended for the Queen's ſervice, and ſecurity of her ſubjects, yet the manner of putting the ſame in execution proves an apparent violation of the ſaid royal charter, as well as the common and ſtatute laws of *England*, and is deſtructive to trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruin of this province.

"*Secondly*, That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that the firing of ſhot at the ſloop *Philadelphia*, in the ſeveral affidavits mentioned, when ſhe

was

ration of the Houſe, the draught of a bill, which he had prepared for that purpoſe, as being better, and more ſuitably adapted, than the act which had been repealed.—This the Aſſembly not only rejected, but drew up one themſelves, inſtead of it, ſo widely different, that the Governor and they were not able to agree to certain particulars contained in it; which were alledged by the Governor, as tending to "*break in upon the Proprietary's powers of government, or his juſt intereſt;*" and, after much diſpute and altercation, and time ſpent to no purpoſe, the Governor proceeded, by an ordinance, in ſuch caſe provided in the royal charter, to open the courts of juſtice, till further, or better proviſion and regulation ſhould be made by act of Aſſembly. 1706.

The Houſe being diſappointed in not carrying their point, in the manner they deſired, were very much chagrined. They were headed by *David Lloyd*, their Speaker, as before mentioned, a perſon of good eſteem and character among the people, and who had been brought up to the law; but through moſt of his public conduct, appears to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in nothing ſo much, as by

D. Lloyd heads the Aſſembly, &c.

was duly cleared, at this port of *Philadelphia*, as the acts of navigation direct, and had the Governor's *Let-paſs*, and upon her voyage to *Barbadoes*, is not warranted by the ſaid act of Aſſembly; but that thoſe, who fired at the ſaid ſloop, after they had notice what ſhe was, and how ſhe was cleared, ought to be proſecuted, as perſons committing hoſtilities againſt the Queen's liege people.

"*Thirdly*, That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that, in caſe the maſter of the ſaid ſloop had been liable to pay either *Powder-money*, or other *mulcts*, impoſed by the ſaid act, yet the forcing him out of the veſſel, and impriſoning him, when ſecurity was offered, for anſwering the ſuppoſed offence, is not warranted by the ſaid act, but is moſt illegal and arbitrary.

"We, having thus preſented our opinion of the ſaid act, entreat, that thou wouldſt uſe the moſt effectual methods to put a ſpeedy ſtop to the ſaid exorbitant practices, great abuſes and oppreſſions, mentioned in the ſaid petition (a copy whereof we humbly lay before thee;) and that the authors of theſe arbitrary actions and oppreſſions complained of, may be proſecuted according to law, and be no longer permitted to abuſe the Queen's authority, and ſtand in open defiance of her royal *Uncle's* grant, obſtruct our lawful commerce, and invade our liberties, rights and properties, and under the pretence of fortifying the river, for the ſervice of the Queen, commit hoſtilities and depredations upon her liege people."

1706. by his conſtant oppoſition to the claims of the Proprietary. Having failed in this their conteſt with the Governor, the Aſſembly, in the next place, were determined, if poſſible, to take their revenge on the Secretary, *James Logan*, who was alſo one of the Council; and they accordingly pointed the force of their reſentment againſt him; whom they regarded, in great meaſure, as the cauſe of their miſcarriage, in the bill of courts, and of much of the miſunderſtanding between them and the Governor.

Againſt James Logan, &c.

James Logan was a man of conſiderable underſtanding and abilities, perhaps exceeded by few, or none, in the province; he eſpouſed and firmly ſupported the Proprietary's intereſt, and had great influence in the Council; but to perſons of inferior abilities and leſs acquirements, he is repreſented by ſome, not always to have conducted himſelf in that courteous and condeſcending manner, which gains reſpect, and is an ornament to ſuperior parts; which rendered him ſomewhat unpopular, and ſometimes provoked his enemies to carry their animoſity againſt him to unwarrantable extremes.*

James Logan ſupports the Proprietary's intereſt, &c.

The

* " *James Logan* was deſcended of a family originally from *Scotland*; where, in the troubles of that country, occaſioned by the affair of Earl *Gawrie*, in the reign of *James* the VI. his grandfather, *Robert Logan*, was deprived of a conſiderable eſtate; in conſequence of which his father, *Patrick Logan*, being in reduced circumſtances, removed into *Ireland*, and fixed his reſidence at *Lurgan*, the place of his ſon *James's* birth. *Patrick Logan* had the benefit of a good education, in the univerſity of *Edinburgh*; where he commenced maſter of arts;—but afterwards joined in religious ſociety with the *Quakers*.—This, his ſon, *James Logan*, being endowed with a good genius, and favoured with a ſuitable education, made conſiderable proficiency in divers branches of learning and ſcience; after which he went to *England*; from whence, in the year 1699, and about the 25th. of his age, he removed to *Pennſylvania*, in company with *William Penn*, in his latter voyage to *America*; and, in 1701, he was, by commiſſion from the Proprietary, appointed Secretary of the province, and Clerk of the Council for the ſame.

His life was afterwards much employed in public affairs:—The department allotted him, in the time of the Governors, *Evans* and *Gookin*, expoſed him to much altercation with *David Lloyd*, then at the head of the Aſſembly, as Speaker, and a large number that joined him. He adhered to what was deemed the proprietary intereſt; and exerted himſelf with great

The province appears to have exhibited ſomething of the nature of party, from its early inſtitution, even, in ſome, who ſtrongly profeſſed more noble and generous motives of conduct. Party ſpirit, the offſpring of narrow and ſelfiſh views, is deeply interwoven in human nature; of which, perhaps, it is impoſſible to be wholly diveſted. But as the human paſſions are only injurious, when they are not kept under proper reſtriction and government, ſo it is the extreme alone of party deſign, which, in reality, is ſo pernicious to human ſociety; while its moderate exertion excites a ſtricter

1706.

Party ſpirit only injurious in the extreme.

great fidelity to it. He held the ſeveral offices of Provincial Secretary, Commiſſioner of property, Chief Juſtice, and for near two years, governed the province, as Preſident of the Council.—

Many years before his death he retired pretty much from the hurry and incumbrance of public affairs, and ſpent the latter part of his time, principally at *Stanton*, his country ſeat, near *Germantown*, about five or ſix miles from *Philadelphia;* where he enjoyed, among his books, that leiſure in which men of letters take delight, and correſponded with the literati in different parts of *Europe*. He was well verſed in both ancient and modern learning, acquainted with the oriental tongues, a maſter of the Latin, Greek, French and Italian languages; deeply ſkilled in the Mathematics, and in natural and moral philoſophy; as ſeveral pieces of his own writing, in Latin, &c. demonſtrate; ſome of which have gone through divers impreſſions, in different parts of *Europe*, and are highly eſteemed: Among his productions of this nature, his *Experimenta Meletemata de plantarum generatione*, or his *Experiments on the Indian corn, or Maize of America*, with his obſervations ariſing therefrom, on the generation of plants, publiſhed in Latin, at *Leyden*, in 1739, and afterwards, in 1747, republiſhed in *London*, with an *Engliſh* verſion on the oppoſite page, by Dr. *J. Fothergill*, are both curious and ingenious.—Along with this piece was likewiſe printed, in Latin, at *Leyden*, another treatiſe, by the ſame author, entitled, "*Canonum pro inveniendis refractionum, tum ſimplicium, tum in lentibus duplicium focis, demonſtrationes geometricæ.*"—"*Autore Jacobo Logan, Judice ſupremo et Præſide provinciæ Penſilvanienſis, in America.*"—And, in his old age, he tranſlated *Cicero's* excellent treatiſe, *De ſenectute*, which, with his explanatory notes, was printed in *Philadelphia*, with a preface or encomium, by *Benjamin Franklin*, afterwards Dr. *Franklin*, of that city, in 1744.—He was one of the people called *Quakers*, and died on the 31ſt. of October, 1751, aged about 77 years;—leaving, as a monument of his public ſpirit and benevolence to the people of *Pennſylvania*, a library; which he had been fifty years in collecting; (ſince called the *Loganian Library*) intending it for the common uſe and benefit of all lovers of learning. It was ſaid to contain the beſt editions of the beſt books, in various languages, arts and ſciences, and to be the largeſt, and by far the moſt valuable, collection of the kind, at that time, in this part of the world.

He had ſeveral children, who ſurvived him; of whom his eldeſt ſon *William*, lately deceaſed, was many years a member of the Governor's Council.

1706. ſtricter attention to men's real intereſts, and under proper management and direction, becomes ſubſervient to the more effectual ſecurity of the public good.

The Aſſembly diſguſted with the Governor's conduct, &c.

The nature and length of this, and other diſputes, with the diſlike and odium, which ſome parts of the Governor's private conduct, are ſaid to have created, in the more ſober part of the inhabitants, by his frequently deſcending below the dignity of his ſtation, in midnight revels, and low frolicks of youthful folly, very much leſſened his authority, and raiſed the ſpirit of party to a higher degree, than had been known before. The conſequence of which was, what is generally that of all extremes, the product of things more or leſs indefenſible, on both ſides: a detail of which proceedings, as they are publiſhed in the journals, or votes of the houſe of Aſſembly of thoſe times, would be too tedious here to be minutely ſtated.—They produced a number of accuſations againſt the Secretary; which the Aſſembly ſtiled *articles of impeachment*. Upon theſe the Aſſembly took meaſures to impeach him in form, before the Governor, as an evil counſellor, and guilty of high miſdemeanors;—But through the Governor's management and protection, they were not able for the preſent, to effect any thing further againſt him; and there is on record his petition to the Governor and Council, requeſting that proper meaſures ſhould be taken to clear his character from the falſe repreſentations, and groſs abuſes of the Aſſembly, by a fair trial.

They impeach the Secretary;

But are diſappointed, &c.

Votes of Aſſembly, &c.

The Aſſembly intend to get the Governor removed.

The Aſſembly, being thus repulſed, in reſpect to *Jamas Logan*, were ſtill more exaſperated; and ſo much were they diſpleaſed with the Governor's conduct, that they were determined to endeavour to have him removed. His public adminiſtration was not only diſagreeable to them, in his manner of acting for his principal's intereſt, but alſo the example of his private conduct was much complained

ed of, as having a bad influence and effect on the morals of many of the people. 1707.

For this purpoſe, therefore, in the ſummer of the year 1707, the Aſſembly drew up a remonſtrance to the Proprietary, containing a catalogue of the particulars of his mal-adminiſtration, or which they eſteemed to be ſuch, with a complaint againſt *James Logan;* the principal of which have already been mentioned:—In this remonſtrance, after having reminded the Proprietary of their former complaints, in the year 1704, they further repreſent:— They draw up a remonſtrance to the Proprietary.

The Lieutenant Governor's abominable and unwarrantable conduct with the *Indians*, on a viſit to them, at *Coneſtogoe*. Heads of the remonſtrance.

His refuſing to paſs the bill of courts, without their agreeing to his amendments; though they only left two of his objections unremoved; and his ſetting up courts by his ordinance.

His refuſal to try the Secretary, upon their impeachment, by queſtioning his own authority to judge, and their's to impeach, in the method they propoſed.

His impoſition on the trade of the province, by means of the law paſſed at *Newcaſtle;* whereby he unjuſtly exacted large ſums of the people; with the abuſes and conſequences of the ſaid law.

Certain unjuſtifiable and oppreſſive proceedings, reſpecting the militia, which he had formed, according to his proclamation before mentioned.

His refuſing to paſs a bill, in the year 1704, to explain and confirm the charter of the city of *Philadelphia;*—The multiplying of taverns and alehouſes, in the city, as nurſeries of vice, by his means; and his impoſing licences on the keepers of thoſe houſes, without law, or precedent.

His

1707. His refuſing to paſs a bill, in 1704, for explaining and confirming the charter of privileges of the province; his rejecting the people's choice of Sheriff and Coroner, for the city and county of *Philadelphia*, in ſaid year, contrary to the ſaid charter: His licencing ſeveral taverns and ale-houſes in *Philadelphia*, againſt, and without the recommendation of, the city magiſtrates;—with his ſending a meſſage to diſmiſs the Aſſembly, on their complaining of his conduct, againſt the form and effect of ſaid charter, and known uſage, &c.

Heads of the remonſtrance.

His appropriating certain monies to his own uſe which the Aſſembly intended otherwiſe; and his ſecreting the objections of the lords of trade to certain laws which had been repealed; whereby they fell again into the ſame error.

The project and conſequences of the *falſe alarm*, before mentioned.

The arbitrary exaction of twelve ſhillings from every maſter of a veſſel, outward bound, for a *let-paſs*, notwithſtanding their being cleared, according to the acts of navigation.

His permitting *French* Papiſts to trade with, and reſide among, the *Indians*, and their wicked behaviour among them.

His granting a commiſſion for privateering, in 1706.

His beating and evilly treating *Solomon Creſſon*, the Conſtable, for doing his duty at a tavern, in one of his midnight revels; though he knew not that the Governor was there.

His exceſſes and debaucheries, to the great encouragement of wickedneſs, and weakening the hands of the magiſtrates, by his ill example, &c.

And

Note. About the year 1707, Vincent Caldwell, Thomas Wickerman, Joel Bailey, Thomas Hope, Guyan Miller, and other Friends, or *Quakers*, ſettled in Kennet, Cheſter county. M. S.

And againſt the Secretary, *James Logan*, it was alledged,— 1707.

Heads of the remonſtrance.

That he knew the above mentioned *alarm* was *falſe;* but, inſtead of uſing ſuch means, as were in his power, to prevent it, he, by his conduct, under pretence of coming at the truth of the affair, made it worſe.

That, as Commiſſioner of Property, to manage the Proprietary's land affairs, he had detained certain deeds, for lands, from the owners unjuſtly; and to ſome perſons, denied patents for their lands, to which they were entitled.

That he had appointed wood-rangers, at large, over the located lands of the inhabitants, in common with thoſe of the Proprietary; for which he had no right; in which accordingly they took up ſtrays, &c. in an indiſcriminate manner; which ought to have been reſtricted ſolely to the Proprietary's lands.

Theſe are called by the Aſſembly, in this *remonſtrance, part of their many grievances;* which was ſent to their agents, *George Whitehead*, *William Mead* and *Thomas Lower*, in *London*; with a very angry letter, to be communicated to the Proprietary.

The Governor demands a copy of this repreſentation, but in vain.

The Governor, getting intelligence of what was going forward, in the Aſſembly, by a meſſage to the Houſe, required them to lay before him, the addreſs or repreſentation, which he was informed, they intended to ſend to *England;* and that they ſhould not preſume to ſend any thing of that nature out of the government, till the ſame had been fully communicated to him, according to juſtice, and the practice of other governments.—This had no effect with them; and the Aſſembly adjourned to the 23d. of September.

On the firſt of October, at the anniverſary election, the choice of Repreſentatives, in Aſſembly, falling

1707. falling mostly on the same persons, as in the preceding year, consequently but little of moment was done in the public affairs of the government, besides the continuation of the former disputes and altercations, respecting the bill of courts, and the other obnoxious parts of the Governor's administration; whence both sides became more untractable, and less disposed to unite in any salutary purpose, for the public good.

The disputes, &c. continue.

But it is observed, respecting these proceedings, that, though the parties were very free with each other's conduct, yet, they are said mostly to have kept within the rules of decency and order; and, in all their differences, both parties, in the strongest terms, professed their sincerest desires and intentions thereby, for the service of their country; and that they had nothing so much in view, in these proceedings, as the real and best advantage of the community.*

In

* The names of the Members of this Assembly, elected October, 1707, were:—

For Philadelphia county.	*For Bucks county.*	*For Chester county.*
David Lloyd, *Speaker*,	Henry Paxon,	Francis Chadds,
John Roberts,	Samuel Darke,	William Smith,
Griffith Jones,	John Swift,	Samuel Levis,
Francis Rawle,	William Paxon,	Richard Hayes,
Joseph Wilcox,	Thomas Hilborn,	John Hood,
Robert Jones,	William Biles,	William Garret,
Joshua Carpenter,	Ezra Croasdale,	John Bethel,
Samuel Richardson.	Samuel Beaks.	Evan Lewis.

City of Philadelphia.
Francis Cooke, William Lee.

Among the names of the Members of Council, in the year 1708, appear to be:—

Edward Shippen,	George Roch,
Joseph Growdon,	Joseph Pidgeon,
Samuel Carpenter,	Samuel Finny,
Thomas Story,	Griffith Owen,
Caleb Pusey,	Jasper Yeats,
William Trent,	James Logan.
Richard Hill,	

To these, in March 1709, were added, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Captain Anthony Palmer.

Note. Thomas Story was also keeper of the great seal, and Master of the Rolls.

James Logan likewise Secretary and Clerk of the Council.

In this ſtate continued the affairs of the province till the beginning of the year, 1709, when the Aſſembly's complaints to the Proprietary having proved effectual, Governor Evans was removed from the adminiſtration, and *Charles Gookin* ſucceeded him, in the government. 1708.

Gov. Evans ſucceeded by Governor Gookin.

It appears not improbable, but that the Proprietary for ſome time paſt, muſt have been under no ſmall uneaſineſs and difficulty, reſpecting his province: For his great generoſity and expence, in ſettling it, with his other acts of beneficence, and the attention due to ſuch a ſeries of conduct, had ſo far impaired his eſtate, in Europe, and involved him in debt, that, in the year 1708, in order to pay the ſame, he borrowed from certain of his friends, a large ſum of money; for which, he mortgaged the province.*

The Proprietary under difficulty about this time, &c.

Beſides,

* Anderſon (before mentioned in the notes) under the year, 1715, obſerves, *viz.*

"Ever ſince the proprietary colonies began to be very conſiderable, *i.e.* ſince the death of King Charles the ſecond, and more eſpecially ſince the revolution, anno 1688, both King William's and Queen Ann's councils and miniſtries foreſaw the great conſequence it would be to the crown and kingdom, to buy off the Lords Proprietaries of Colonies, before they ſhould grow too powerful; and frequent treaties were held with them by the miniſters of the crown, for that end; particularly with the *truly great Mr. William Penn*, for the purchaſe of his fine province of *Pennſylvania*. His demand was £20,000, and Queen *Anne*, in council, referred that demand to the Lords Commiſſioners of trade and plantations; whoſe report was referred by the Queen, to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; ſoon after which an agreement was made with *Mr. Penn*, for £12,000, for the ſaid province; but, he being ſoon after ſeized with an apoplexy, which diſabled him to execute the ſame, a ſtop was put to that bargain; until, by the Queen's order, a bill, in Parliament, ſhould be prepared for that end. Whilſt that bill was depending, Mr. *Joſhua Gee* and others, who were mortgagees, under the ſaid Mr. *Penn*, petitioned the Houſe of Commons for relief; wherein they repreſented that Mr. *Penn* having purchaſed of the *Indians* their title to that country, had by his induſtry and great charge, improved the country and eſtabliſhed conſiderable colonies therein, whereby he had very much impared his eſtate, in *Europe;* and that, in the year, 1708, to clear a debt contracted for ſettling and improving the ſaid colonies, he had borrowed of the ſaid mortgagees £6,600, to whom he had mortgaged the ſaid province, and all the powers of government."

Note. The names of the mortgagees were, "*Henry Gouldney* of *London*, *Joſhua Gee*, *Silvanus Grove*, *John Woods*, of the ſame place; and *Thomas Callowhill*, *Thomas Oade* and *Jeffry Pennell*, of *Briſtol*, and *John Field* of *London*, and *Thomas Cuppage* of *Lambs-town*, in *Ireland*." M. S.

1709. Beſides, it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that the nature of the diſputes between the Aſſembly and his Deputy Governor, at the ſame time, could not have been agreeable to him, for, notwithſtanding what appears to have been amiſs, or defective in the conduct of the latter, it was then viſible, and more ſo

The Proprietary incited to diſpoſe of the Government, &c.

Note.—In a manuſcript, ſigned *Philadelphus*, appearing to have been writ about the fourth year of Governor Gordon's adminiſtration, for a particular purpoſe, by *James Logan*, is the following obſervation, *viz.*

——"When the Proprietor, by the fraud of a treacherous ſteward, was obliged to mortgage the Province, the Truſtees of that mortgage, with his concurrence, appointed five perſons, in whoſe character they were beſt ſatisfied, *viz. Edward Shippen*, *Samuel Carpenter*, *Richard Hill*, *Iſaac Norris* and *James Logan*, to be their commiſſioners, or agents. And the Proprietor, in a full confidence in the ſame perſons, appointed them, with one more, to be truſtees alſo of his *will*. Not long after this, the two firſt died, and the other three continued to diſcharge the truſt, they had undertaken," &c. M. S.

Oldmixon, in his account of the Britiſh colonies, publiſhed in 1708, ſays,—"We ſhall not enter into any enquiries into the cauſes of the *trouble*, that has been given *Mr. Penn* lately, about the province of *Pennſylvania;* it appears to us, by what we have heard of it from others, for from himſelf we never had any information concerning it, that he has been involved in it, by his bounty to the *Indians*, his generoſity, in minding the public affairs of the colony, more than his own private ones; his humanity to thoſe, who have not made ſuitable returns; his confidence in thoſe, that have betrayed him; and the rigour of the ſevereſt equity; a word, that borders the neareſt to injuſtice of any. 'Tis certainly the duty of this colony to maintain the Proprietary, who has laid out his *All*, for the maintenance of them, in the poſſeſſion of his territory; and the public, in gratitude, ought to make good what they reap the benefit of. This is all ſaid out of juſtice to the merit of this gentleman, otherwiſe it would have been without his conſent.

The ſame author mentions the names of the Members of Council, and of the perſons in office, in Governor *Evans's* adminiſtration, as follows:—

The Council conſiſted of:—

Edward Shippen,	Richard Hill,
Samuel Carpenter,	William Rodney,
William Trent,	Caleb Puſey, and
Thomas Story,	James Logan.

Joſeph Growdon, Speaker of the Aſſembly.

Thomas Story, Maſter of the Rolls.

William Clark, Edward Shippen, Joſeph Growdon, William Gueſt, Judges.

Colonel Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty.

Samuel Carpenter, Treaſurer.

James Logan, Government's Secretary.

R. Lowther, Attorney-General.

Peter Evans, Regiſter. Edward Penington, late Surveyor General.

Robert Aſhton, Clerk of the Peace, for the town and county of Philadelphia.

ſo afterwards, in part of the tranſactions of ſome of theſe Aſſemblies, that a diſcontented and factious diſpoſition, or party, was increaſing in the province, againſt his intereſt, endeavouring to divide that, in appearance, which, in reality, was one, and ought never to be ſeparated, not even in idea; tending to render the government uneaſy to him, and under views, or pretence of gaining more privileges and liberties to endanger thoſe, which they had: This, it is certain, would have been the caſe, at that time, had the Proprietary made uſe of thoſe means, which were then abſolutely in his power, to terminate his difficulties, to his preſent advantage, but, moſt probably, unfavourable to the views of thoſe who oppoſed him, by his diſpoſing of the government to the crown; to which his private circumſtances, the ſolicitations of the miniſtry, and this conduct in the province, ſo much incited him.* 1709.

* "In the year 1707, he was unhappily involved in a ſuit of law with the *executors* of a perſon, who had been formerly his ſteward; againſt whoſe demands he thought both conſcience and juſtice required his endeavours to defend himſelf. But his cauſe (though many thought him aggrieved) was attended with ſuch circumſtances, as that the Court of Chancery did not think it proper to relieve him; wherefore he was obliged to dwell in the *Old Baily* within the rules of the *Fleet*, ſome part both of this, and the next enſuing year, until ſuch time, as the matter, in diſpute, was accommodated."

Penn's life, in his printed works.

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Page. Line.	*Errata.*	*Emendata.*
7—last line—	but then *do,*	But then *does, (or doth.)*
94— 5—	*Bemen* and the Hague,	*Bremen* and the Hague.
158— 8—	*or* their religious society,	*of* their religious society.
165— 5—	Queen *Ann,*	Queen *Anne.*
219—18—	*States,*	*State.*
221—10—	*florishing,*	*flourishing.*
221—Note—	*their* is,	*there* is.
223— 4—	*or,*	*nor.*
223—Note—	part *of* country,	part *of the* country.
260—20—	Peter *Styresant,*	Peter *Styvesant.*
276—37—	nor *never* will,	nor *ever* will.
341—Note—	and *a make* wall,	and *make a* wall.
342—ditto—	to enjoy and use *of the* world,	to enjoy and use *the* world.
344— 2—	*found,*	*founded.*
344—25—	*affected,*	*effected.*
344—37—	*affected,*	*effected.*
354—	conclusion of the note omitted, *viz.*	*otherwise represented, or suspected.*
359— 1—	*revolution,*	*resolution.*
359— 7—	*bills* which *appear* to have been passed into *laws,*	*bill,* which *appears* to have been passed into *a law.*
377—19—	the word *(or)* to be omitted.	
378—18—	*advise,*	*advice.*
391—Note—	and *be* further enacted,	and *be it* further enacted.
393—ditto—	shall *be* cast,	shall *be* cast.
452—ditto—	Edward *Smont,*	Edward *Smout.*
458—ditto—	James *Conts,*	James *Couts.*
461— 1—	what effect *which these proceedings* had,	what effect *these proceedings* had.
463—Note—	much *leaning,*	much *learning.*
464— 5—	nor *yet* gain,	nor *get* gain.
469—Note—	*mutis,*	*multis.*